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THE QUEEN AND MR. GLADSTONE

By the same Author

HISTORY

THE DUKE
PALMERSTON
THE SECOND EMPIRE

ESSAYS

BONNET AND SHAWL
THE MISSING MUSE
MEN OF LETTERS
MEN OF AFFAIRS
MEN OF WAR
STILL LIFE

CORRESPONDENCE

GLADSTONE AND PALMERSTON

AMERICANA

INDEPENDENCE DAY
CONQUISTADOR
ARGENTINE TANGO



H. M. Queen Victoria

From a photograph in the possession of the National Portrait Gallery

THE QUEEN AND MR. GLADSTONE

PHILIP GUEDALLA

1845-1879

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THE correspondence of Queen Victoria with the greatest of her Prime Ministers is published from papers in the possession of the Gladstone Trustees. The collection contains approximately 800 letters or telegrams from the Queen, 900 from her Private Secretaries, and 4,500 from Mr. Gladstone. Of these 6,000 documents the Editor has selected approximately 1,500, of which seven-eighths are hitherto unpublished, since exigencies of space prevented those responsible for the general edition of The Letters of Queen Victoria from including more than a fragment of Her Majesty's correspondence with any individual. Thus, the present volume, which covers the first thirty years of their relation, contains 625 documents, of which only 91 have already been published in whole or in part.

It has been thought desirable to preface the correspondence with a Commentary in which the two letter-writers are studied at some length, since both have been to some extent the victims of biographical injustice, and an attempt is made to set their correspondence against its full historical background. This narrative is founded upon the copious material already available, the new letters, and unpublished correspondence of Mr. Gladstone with his family and colleagues. The papers included in the present volume and their accompanying Commentary relate to the years of friendship and sympathy between the Sovereign and her minister and to the dawn of her distaste for him, which provided the unhappy keynote of their later years. Those years will form the subject of the succeeding volume.

The text is based, in the case of all letters from the Queen, upon the originals and, in the case of all letters from Mr. Gladstone, upon the copies or drafts preserved among his papers. In the whole of his task the Editor has been un-

*grudgingly assisted by Mr. A. Tilney Esq. whose
ous aid and exhaustive knowledge of the Hawaiian
are indispensable to any worker in this field ; and he may
be permitted to express to the Gladstone Trustees his sense of
privilege and responsibility in being charged with this con-
tribution to fuller knowledge of the two leading figures of the
Nineteenth Century.*

P. G.

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COMMENTARY

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are fully cited, are given thus : **12**

I

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

As the years fall away, the figures of the past recede and their perspective alters. Some that appeared so prominent from close at hand are scarcely visible at a short distance, whilst others seem for some reason to cast a longer shadow every year. For nothing in the world is half so perishable as estimates of our contemporaries. One figure, whose impressive outline shadowed a whole generation, wavers into mist before his obituary notices are fairly out of sight ; and in a few more years the mists are shredded under the cold breath of time into thin air. Another, of whose existence his contemporaries were only dimly aware, grows in significance until he towers above the age in which he lived.

The past recedes with all its figures like a line of coast behind a moving ship. The ship goes on ; but as the coast falls away, the watchers on the deck observe its features in a new perspective. A mountain-side by which the port was overshadowed sinks gently seaward, and the line of peaks that had been altogether masked from view climbs slowly up the sky, until it fills the whole horizon. For true perspective comes only at a distance. The long coast-line of the Nineteenth Century is receding now, and all its reputations begin to stand out in their just proportions. Some that once cast so long a shadow have already dwindled into insignificance, while two at any rate seem to have grown immensely taller when viewed across the intervening years. It would not be true to say that their age knew too little of Queen Victoria and Mr. Gladstone. If anything, it knew a shade too much. For they pervaded it. Their lightest

sayings and their smallest mannerisms—her royal poise, her pony-carriage, and her gifts of Paisley shawls; his reverberating dialectics, his tree-fellings at Hawarden, his literary preferences, and his Sunday readings of the lesson—were of the very texture of the age; and by a natural reaction the age turned elsewhere for a change. Contrasted types were hunted up to be admired instead; and there was an interval of indifference, almost of disrespect, in which their names were greeted with a thin derision. But increasing distance restores a just perspective; and as the age recedes, its two leading figures resume their true proportions. For the ship of time moves on; the little hills drop out of sight; and as we look back at the Nineteenth Century, the peaks come up against the sky once more.

1

No practice can be more misleading than our way with figures of the past. An earlier generation was satisfied with a bare record of their public acts, embellished by a 'character.' This tribute, which was almost obligatory, consisted of a meaningless assortment of perfunctory epithets. Pronounced in the portentous tone of a funeral oration, it did no harm, since it conveyed no meaning; and being frequently appropriate for translation into Latin prose, it possessed a modicum of educational value. But times changed; and a more supercilious age demanded something more than these simple gestures of ancestor-worship. Respect for ancestors, indeed, was rather out of fashion in a world that had become increasingly uncomfortable to live in; and their ungrateful children were inclined to argue that if the surrounding turmoil represented the results of ancestral wisdom, there was not much to be said for ancestors. Responsive to the new demand, enquiring pens subjected the distinguished dead to a more critical analysis. The heroes of the past were vigorously probed; and the prevailing mood

acclaimed the spirited results of these irreverent dissections, although there was a slight suspicion that the more exciting specimens owed more to their investigators' zeal than to the objects of their study. For investigation was powerfully aided by an impressive apparatus of guess-work that was termed psychology and proved upon examination to consist in equal parts of things that were not so and things that everybody knew before.

Historically dubious in the extreme, these *enquêtes* were frequently no less misleading than the old-fashioned 'character' which they had superseded. That simple chaplet of funereal epithets bore slight relation to the facts ; but were the facts more accurately mirrored in the crude psychology that was now offered as a substitute ? Its crudity was undeniable, since it rarely credited deceased personages with the possession of more than a single characteristic. This simple-minded shorthand has been found sufficient for their purposes by the majority of dramatists, as the conditions of their art render an extreme simplification of the facts almost inevitable : there is so much to be compressed into three hours, and it would be too much to hope that any audience could possibly identify one character with more than one characteristic. (Is not this distortion a frequent cause of weakness in novels written by successful dramatists ?) A similar defect of vision is no less essential in political cartoonists, who impress their simple parables upon the public mind by identifying the most complex statesman with a single attribute—a nose, a lock of hair, a pipe, an eye-glass, or a collar. But when this convenient symbolism was transferred to the field of historical composition, its utility became more questionable. It was, no doubt, extremely tempting to dramatise the past by substituting for its shadowy occupants with their uncertain motives and half-formed designs the sharper outline of a caricature. But was the truth so simple ? Was it really credible that dead monarchs and statesmen had traversed the long

vicissitudes of their careers with the aid of a single characteristic? It would be a great relief to think so. But the cartoonist's method simplifies too much. Eminently dramatic, such portraiture is unreliable in the extreme, because reality is not nearly so consistent. It was convenient to people history with a set of characters who were invariably recognisable and acted in uniform obedience to a single prescribed motive, with which they were distinctly labelled. But these portents with one feature bore no more relation to the truth than the Cyclops' solitary eye to a normal human countenance, since even public men are human, and no human being yet was ever made of one ingredient alone.

Besides, the method frequently ignored the vital circumstance of human growth. It was noticeable that its most typical creations rarely changed between the cradle and the grave, although few persons outside the fascinating pages of these studies are identical at sixty and at twenty-one. There was a fatal tendency to ignore this simple commonplace, to reconstruct some public figure in loving detail as he stood in a familiar pose at some historic moment, and to propel this effigy wholly unaltered through all the changing phases of a long career. The risks are obvious, since public men invariably impress themselves upon the public mind at a particular stage of their development. Thus, the Duke of Wellington stands in the national memory as a bleak figure uttering staccato oracles drawn from a lifetime of experience; but it would be erroneous to conclude that Arthur Wellesley was born with this equipment. Lord Palmerston is best remembered as a genial elder with a flavour of the Turf, and Mr. Gladstone as an apocalyptic voice ingeminating woe upon Lord Beaconsfield before staring rows of Midlothian electors. But what could be more misleading than to introduce those well-known figures at any earlier stage of their careers? They were not always thus: Lord Liverpool's unenterprising Secretary at War,

chained to a departmental desk for nineteen years by inclination and a shrewd knowledge of his own limitations, is barely recognisable in the gay Prime Minister of 1860 ; and the prim, black-haired young Churchman, who answered to the name of Gladstone in 1840, would not have recognised himself in the crusading fervour of Midlothian. For each familiar figure represents the end of a protracted process, in which time, growth, and circumstances have profoundly modified its original outline ; and sound characterisation demands that we should travel with them through each stage of the long journey.

2

No figure of the past requires this recognition more than Queen Victoria. It is so tempting to simplify the facts by rendering her in a single formula, to portray one small, unchanging figure which remains the same from the first summer dawn at Kensington to the last thundering salutes of her triumphant Jubilees. But nothing could be more fallacious, since few persons ever underwent more sweeping changes in the course of a long lifetime. Mr. Creevey's little Vic blushing profusely and consumed with laughter in the gay, preposterous *décor* of the Pavilion at Brighton is barely recognisable in the sober outline of Prince Albert's wife. That was her first transformation ; but there were more to follow. For that matron of progressive principles and strictly constitutional virtues was presently to vanish in the effulgence of a more incalculable figure, of the Queen-Empress before whom Disraeli swept his deepest bows. Here was another Queen Victoria, in whom Lord Melbourne would scarcely have known his pupil and Prince Albert might have been hard put to it to recognise his consort. Something had changed her utterly ; and she emerged from the metamorphosis with a full equipment of new feelings and opinions appropriate to her more imperial *rôle*. That transformation was, perhaps, her last. The years passed

over her ; but Queen Victoria remained much as Lord Beaconsfield had left her, until age modified his product into the venerable figure of her Jubilees, to be the impressive object of an Empire's worship and, presently, of the world's mourning.

One must not press the point too far. For there were elements of character, as of physique, recurring through the long story of her life and remaining almost constant, which it is fascinating to recognise as the Queen's hall-mark. But these were far outnumbered by her successive changes ; and the apparent contradictions in her story are more easily resolved by recognition of her growth than by any effort to reduce that slowly unfolding tale to a single formula. Indeed, it seems almost permissible to treat the Queen's protracted rule as a succession of three reigns of three related sovereigns. Since they were relatives, there were some features that they owned in common. But there were more that they did not ; and the three reigns are readily distinguishable.

The youngest of the three was Queen Victoria I, who succeeded to King William IV. Her reign, by far the shortest of the three, was distinguished by a romping sort of innocence. It was a girlish Regency, appropriately housed at Brighton, where she rode out with aged beaux, her ministers, and listened with admiring eyes to Lord Melbourne's explanations of everything from official business to the lamentable tone of *Oliver Twist*. She was succeeded shortly after marriage by Victoria II, a widely different type. This Queen, no less impressionable than her cheerful predecessor, bore the unmistakable impress of her married life. A gifted husband and his no less gifted confidant transformed her views ; there was a change of manners, since the royal nurseries transformed her way of life ; and it is entertaining to observe the shock sustained by former intimates of Victoria I, when they found themselves in the more austere presence of Victoria II. Lord Palmerston,

a lively feature of the former Court, who used to show her how to beat her aunt at chess and had been "the one with whom I communicate oftenest after Lord Melbourne," was quite unnerved by his experience. Leaving the service of his Queen in 1841, he returned to office half-way through 1846 to find a Queen that knew not Joseph. The royal name was still the same ; not so the royal manners. Worse still, the royal views that had once been derived from Melbourne's jocular asides had undergone a solemn change. For now they did their best to echo Prince Albert's patient reproductions of Stockmar's irrefragable logic. Some influence had raised the Crown in its own esteem ; it had almost ceased to be the genial British institution which Palmerston had known at Brighton ; now it was hedged with a divinity more appropriate to Central Europe, where Germans were always a little apt to be mystic about monarchy. Lord Palmerston was not a mystic, and his mind was anything but German. The contrast was unfortunate, since Palmerston had been congenial to Victoria I ; but there was hardly anything about him that failed to jar on Victoria II. He was distinctly Regency ; his views of foreign policy were sadly lacking in the cosmopolitan enlightenment of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha ; and it was scarcely possible to count him among the more improving influences in national life. The unhappy consequence was that he spent the next twenty years in an unappreciated exhibition to his sovereign of qualities that would have charmed her predecessor. Death spared Lord Melbourne the same harrowing experience.

The reign of Victoria II went majestically on. It was a sober epoch of material improvements and spiritual elevation. Ubiquitous steam-engines shrieked their way across a countryside which progress had not yet devastated ; the electric telegraph startled recipients with sudden messages ; iron ships, textile machinery, and suspension-bridges poured from the ample cornucopia

of science to enrich, if not to embellish, English life ; and a rich profusion of well-intentioned agencies—Sunday schools, Benevolent Societies, cheap printing, and diffused facilities for education—turned its attention towards higher things. Its Laureate was Mr. Tennyson, and its favourites, in striking contrast with the meretricious ornaments of the last Court, were statesmen in the sober mould of Peel and Aberdeen. It was an age of good intentions, when high-minded public men in broadcloth waved their countrymen towards a decorous millennium of cheap food and penny postage ; its ideals were fairly represented by the Great Exhibition ; and its prospects were well within the comprehension of any thoughtful ratepayer. For it was reasonably anticipated that, while the world might

“ Spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change,”

life upon its surface would continue to be much as it was at present, only a little more so. The future, it was thought, would be quite indistinguishable from the present except by certain differences of degree. There would be larger steam-engines and swifter steam-boats ; more children would attend bigger Sunday schools ; and taller chimneys would smoke over better-regulated factories. Flanked by her Consort, whose intelligence inspired many of its most typical proceedings, Victoria II presided with complete congruity over this sober carnival of enlightened common-sense. Small wonder *revenants* like Palmerston were apt to lose their way among the unfamiliar surroundings. For Palmerston took little pleasure

“ in the march of mind,
In the steamship, in the railway, in the thoughts that shake mankind.”

The landmarks by which public men had steered under Victoria I were all effaced ; and royal favour was reserved for persons more in tune with the new age. The change of taste was nowhere more apparent than

in the altered fortunes of Sir Robert Peel. Once the terror of Victoria I, because "the Queen don't like his manner after—oh! how different, how dreadfully different, to that frank, open, natural and most kind, warm manner of Lord Melbourne," that tightly buttoned figure was the very pattern of a modern statesman at the Court of Victoria II. For he was a public man after the Prince Consort's heart. The requisites, it seemed, were earnestness combined with an ability to translate lofty ideals into the modest terms of practical reform. While such tastes prevailed at Court, the road was plainly open for a rising man who, once a Tory, combined a sober appetite for administrative detail with a quite unusual degree of earnestness. Eminently qualified to shine in these surroundings, he was Peel's disciple and a faithful follower of Aberdeen; and it was not surprising that Mr. Gladstone found himself completely at home, whilst a more questionable figure moved in the gloom of Opposition, coruscating to select gatherings of younger sons and incurring the stern disapproval of a royal pen, that wrote sharply to Sir Robert that "the House of Commons ought to be ashamed of having such Members as L^d G. Bentinck and that detestable Mr. D'Israeli."

The reign was brusquely interrupted by the tragic and premature removal of the Prince Consort. The consequences for the Queen were cruel, since the wound never healed. The years crept by on broken wings; but she was haunted to the end by the memory of all that she had lost. For now she was alone, left to the company of dutiful princesses and sympathetic peeresses. It was a melancholy fate. The consequences to her subjects were, at first, less apparent. There was a becoming interval of royal mourning, of complete withdrawal from public activities, which impatient critics ultimately felt to be somewhat unduly prolonged. But the same tone which had prevailed in Albert's lifetime continued after he was gone; if anything, it was a shade intensified; and there could be

no doubt that the reigning monarch was still Victoria II. A distinguished sceptic has speculated on the course of history, if Albert's life had been prolonged. The speculation is superfluous, because his Queen's devotion actually prolonged it as an influence on public life. For years she was content to act as he would have acted ; fond recollections of his thought remained her sole criterion of public duty ; and royal decisions were taken after consultation with some inner oracle, which told her what Albert would have done. This pathetic circumstance served to prolong his influence and to maintain unaltered those features of the reign which he had helped to make. There was no sudden breach of continuity ; under his posthumous direction the age proceeded down the sober path of progress. The same public figures made the same gestures towards the same ideals, and statesmen who had harmonised with 1851 were still congenial in 1868. For the Queen still walked by Albert's guidance. She had always needed a man's arm to lean on. It had been simple for a girl to lean upon Lord Melbourne ; and as a wife, whilst Albert walked beside her, she asked little more than to be guided by him.

But now there was a dreadful void ; for there was nobody to stand beside her. It is a cruel fact that monarchs suffer more deeply in bereavement than humbler persons. There is no difference in their feelings ; but the consequences of their losses are apt to be far more irreparable. Others may fill the void with intimates ; but monarchy, which has no equals, can scarcely do so. The ministrations of devoted daughters and the sympathy of courtiers, even when it is sincere, are pale substitutes for a lost husband. For there can be no real companionship without equality ; and who is the equal of a widowed Queen ? That was her tragedy. She was unutterably lonely ; and there was nobody to feel for her—or rather, nobody who could express a feeling for her without presumption. Mr.

Gladstone did his best : he was Prime Minister, and in his public actions he embodied all the good intentions of her former reign. But her private feelings were still unsatisfied. How could she lean on Mr. Gladstone ? His deep sympathy was always beautifully expressed. It was impossible for her to doubt it ; and she was grateful. But a lonely woman could scarcely lean on Mr. Gladstone for the simple reason that he was not lonely too. That made a gulf between them. A devoted wife watched over him, and the happy couple were often at Windsor under the Queen's wistful gaze. Gladstone had never known the sorrows of bereavement ; and, however deep, his sympathy was a mere sentiment that could not rise into the loftier harmony of fellow-feeling. Her supreme need in all those lonely years was for a fellow-feeling. It led her to seek out the company of other victims. She made a habit of condolence, almost a *culte* of widowhood, befriending Eugénie when she had lost her Emperor and doubly when a second blow deprived her of her boy. But the Prime Minister could hardly offer her that consolation. For Mr. Gladstone was not lonely ; and in consequence the Queen did not find it easy to lean completely upon him.

The wheel of politics revolved, bringing her a new Prime Minister. Would it be easier for her to lean on him ? It might be, since he was almost as lonely as the widowed Queen. A widower, he pitched his cheerless camp in friends' houses or West-End hotels. Had she not written telling him a year before, when the blow fell, that " the Queen knows also *what* Mr. Disraeli has lost and what he must suffer " ? There might be a fellow-feeling here ; and his lonely sovereign was soon sending him snowdrops and primroses with a shy intimation that " she heard that he was very fond of flowers and knew that *one* is no longer there who used to provide them for him ! " His reply was a respectful rapture, in the course of which the Prime Minister alluded to Titania : it may be doubted if Mr. Gladstone would have thought of that. But

Disraeli was a more accomplished wooer, who confessed gaily that " I feel fortunate in having a female Sovereign. I owe everything to woman ; and if in the sunset of life I have still a young heart, it is due to that influence." Here was an arm, perhaps, for her to lean on ; and as Disraeli's fascination grew on her, the Queen leant.

An idyll opened, by which her loneliness was brightened. It was their common solitude, perhaps, that had first drawn the strange pair together. But Disraeli had other attractions for the Queen, since he was unusual in the extreme, and the unusual had always exercised a strong attraction on her. Had she not felt the fascination of Napoleon III, when that " very extraordinary man . . . I might almost say a mysterious man " appeared twenty years before against the sober background of her life ? If the craving for mystery still lingered with the Queen, Disraeli satisfied it richly with his exotic origins and strange, florid manners. It was a delight for her to send him little presents and receive his queer, emotional replies, to take small precautions for his health, and to insist upon his being seated during audiences. Here was a minister who satisfied her private feelings, who had been ^{tested} tested in the same cruel fires, and could gratify her with the supreme luxury of a fellow-feeling.

The consequences were quite unpredictable, since Disraeli had more interests in public life than the sentimental captivation of the Queen. Presently his aims in politics became her aims as well ; his friends were noted as her loyal servants ; and the royal eye began to view his enemies as her own. A strange apprehension of Mr. Gladstone seemed to grow on her ; and within a year of her change of ministers Disraeli diagnosed her solicitude for his own health as " occasioned . . . not so much from love of me as dread of somebody else." Under his skilful tutelage her views of public questions were transformed ; new standards taught her to approve the strange, flamboyant gestures of his policy ; and she was soon doing

things that were not by any stretch of the imagination what Albert would have done. That inner oracle was almost silent now. There was no need for it to speak, because she had a living guide to walk beside her and direct the reign towards new destinies. The transformation was complete ; and under the magician's wand his sovereign had become Victoria III.

That monarch was completely different from both her predecessors—as different as Lord Beaconsfield in all his pride from Melbourne's homeliness or the austerity of Peel. She was an Empress now ; and the stage was set by an accomplished hand for an imperial display. It was a splendid transformation-scene, in which iridescent tableaux succeeded one another with bewildering rapidity. The Sikhs came to Malta ; the fleet went to Besika Bay ; Lord Beaconsfield alighted in Berlin, made a few mystic passes, and returned to Charing Cross with his splendid freight of " Peace with Honour " ; and in the final scene, as deep-chested vocalists in music-halls roared that they did not want to fight but, by jingo, if they did, a lonely figure on a gilded throne sat high above the din, savouring an Empire's acclamation. After the long, dreary years of her retirement it was a new sensation. For a touch of novelty was needed, if the melancholy charm of her eternal mourning was ever to be broken ; and a skilful minister applied the magic touch. He even found her a new title. Monarchs have often raised their ministers a step in the peerage ; but what minister before Disraeli bestowed a step in the monarchy upon his sovereign ? The Queen became Queen-Empress ; and a deeper change came with the change of style. For now she learned to recognise herself in a fresh character ; and the modest outlines of V. R. soon vanished in the new magnificence of V. R. I.

The change was more than titular, since it marked the Queen's transition to her third and final manner. That incarnation was, perhaps, her last. Disraeli's Queen reigned on, ageing a little with the years, until the

roaring streets acclaimed her Jubilee and, in a few years more, a silent gun-carriage passed by under the grey light of 1901. But almost to the end her loyalties remained the loyalties of 1878—her throne, her Empire, the fighting services, a spirited foreign policy, and a strong distaste for Radicals. For a skilled hand had moulded her in his own image; and Disraeli's handiwork was largely undisturbed by his successors. The consequences of the change in her were no less devastating than the results of earlier transformations; and the full impact of the blow fell upon Mr. Gladstone. For the Queen, from whose service he retired in 1874, had completely vanished. That sovereign had lived on terms of friendship with him, fussed about his health, shared some of his ideals, and exchanged small, improving presents. Six years passed over them; and he returned to find a changed woman, who surveyed him with a stony stare and conveyed a silent hope that he would act as much as possible like dear Lord Beaconsfield. It was most disconcerting. Nothing in his previous experience at Court had taught him to regard Disraeli as a model of statesmanship. The Prince Consort emphatically would not have thought so; neither did Sir Robert Peel; and Mr. Gladstone stared about a little ^{uselessly} to find familiar landmarks. But they had ^{Then} vanished once again; and Gladstone in 1880 was almost as lost as Palmerston in 1846. Palmerston, indeed, would have been more at home in the new Court, since Lord Beaconsfield's achievement had been very largely modelled on the freer gestures of Palmerstonian foreign policy at its livelier (and less effective) moments. But Mr. Gladstone was condemned to wander, an embarrassed *revenant* from the reign of Victoria II, down lengthening corridors of exasperation in the uncongenial company of Victoria III.

That substitution of a strange sovereign for the Queen whom he had served from 1868 to 1874 explains the deepening embarrassment that followed 1880; and

recognition of the change in her is the key to any grasp of their relation.

3

Not that Mr. Gladstone was immune from change. That long career, whose opening was shadowed by Mr. Canning, its middle years a sober pacing by the side of Peel, a brush with Palmerston and a tournament with Disraeli, and its ending an unquiet evening with a sun that obstinately declined to set at the bidding of impatient Unionist evening stars—that black-coated pageant marching from the reign of George IV to the Diamond Jubilee—contained more than a single figure. For there was emphatically more than one Mr. Gladstone; and his progress through the Nineteenth Century was far more diversified than the mere repetition of one figure in an interminable frieze. The frieze was long indeed; but as the passing years wrought changes in him, the recurring figure that bore the name of Gladstone was rarely twice the same.

The long procession opened with a demure Oxonian, whose fame had reached as far as Cheyne Row; Carlyle uttered a deep, respectful growl about “a certain W. Gladstone, an Oxford crack scholar, Tory M.P., and devout churchman of great talent and hope. . . . I know him for a solid, serious, silent-minded man”; Macaulay honoured his early writings with a full, critical broadside in the *Edinburgh*, opening the cannonade with a rare compliment to “the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories”; and their unbending leader closed an interview, in which he offered him a minor post, by taking Gladstone’s hand and saying with deep feeling, “Well, God bless you, wherever you are.” Peel was not prodigal of such demonstrations; but his response to Gladstone was immediate. Did not someone say of the young man that he was “Oxford on the surface, but Liverpool below”? If so, Sir Robert could respect the industrious commercial statesmanship, that knew how to

"govern packages" at the Board of Trade, beneath the impressive superstructure of academic decorum.

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That was the first Mr. Gladstone, a rather solemn figure with black hair and an adorable young wife, who lived in Carlton House Terrace in order to be near the House of Commons and the Sunday school in which he taught, served on Church committees, and ordered books for the servants' library with immense deliberation. How could Sir Robert fail to like him, or he to follow Peel? He followed him through the inevitable curve, as Peel veered towards Free Trade; and when the angry Tories hunted their leaders out of office, he shared their exile. It was a rather lonely destiny to be a Peelite. The rôle was dignified; but it consisted mainly of surveying politics from an unfrequented pinnacle of superior sagacity; and as the little group looked down, the crowded plain beneath them filled with the stamp and thunder of opposing Whigs and Tories. Such detachment might be congenial to Aberdeen; but Mr. Gladstone was not born to be a political Mercutio. A critic said of him that he was an ardent Italian in the custody of a Scotsman. The Scotsman was still uppermost; but as the sounds of conflict floated up to their Olympian retreat, something was stirring in him that threatened to unseat his inner Scotsman and disturb the prim decorum of a Peelite. An accident of foreign travel made him aware of dark misdeeds in Italy; and he returned to England with an uncomfortable certainty that the reigning house of Naples constituted "the negation of God erected into a system of Government." This was unfortunate, as such opinions were normally confined to Palmerston. For the reproof of Continental tyranny had been a lively speciality of his for years; and the more decorous Conservatives were accustomed to receive his comminations with grave disapproval. But Mr. Gladstone could talk of nothing else. Something had fired his indignation; the judicious Scotsman, who normally held him in control, swayed on

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his throne ; and as his indignation burned, there were traces of another, a far livelier Mr. Gladstone. For he was almost impetuous, shocked Aberdeen by publishing his feelings in a pamphlet, and called on Palmerston to assure him that " the Neapolitan is a *Governo infernale*, and that, as a gentleman and a Christian, he feels it his duty to make known what he has seen of its proceedings." This outburst was not without its influence on Gladstone's political alignment, since it brought him closer to Palmerston. But its significance was deeper as a revelation of the fires that burnt within him, of a capacity for deep emotion in noble causes that lay concealed beneath that somewhat prim exterior. Here was a second Mr. Gladstone, neither Oxford nor Liverpool, with passions that might lie far beyond the control of any Scotsman.

But for the moment that volcanic figure was in abeyance. The judicious Peelite still went about his business with eyes demurely fixed upon the ground of public finance. A sober figure, he was in complete conformity with the prevailing background. It was an age of lofty principles ; and Mr. Gladstone's, whether of financial probity or of Church government, were as high as could have been desired. Was he not Sir Robert's favourite pupil and an honoured friend of the Prince Consort ? For a short term of office he showed his quality as Chancellor of the Exchequer, displaying faultless theory in admirable practice. But it was cut short by a Peelite crotchet ; and he withdrew once more to contemplate the drift of parties from his lonely pillar in the political Thebaid.

His contemplation ended in the most unlikely manner, since he returned to earth at the invitation of Lord Palmerston. Less than half a Tory now, he was uncomfortably poised between two parties, each of which seemed almost equally distasteful. It was impossible for a devoted Peelite to re-enlist among the Tories. True, they had seen the error of their fiscal ways and shed the shibboleth

of Protection ; but he could scarcely serve behind, or even beside, Disraeli, who had been Peel's political assassin. Would it be easier for him to join the Whigs and follow Palmerston ? It hardly seemed so, as a judicious intimate of Gladstone's recorded that "personal dislike and distrust of Palmerston is the one absorbing feeling with him," and he confessed himself that "on the whole perhaps I differ more from Lord Palmerston than from almost anyone, and this was more on account of his temper and views of public conduct, than of any political opinions." This was unpromising ; and Gladstone, balancing between his strong distastes, seemed doomed to sit for ever on his pillar, an anchorite of politics. But something altered his perspective. The chance acceptance of a temporary mission sent him to Greece ; and when he returned, a close observer noted that "foreign politics seemed to have the chief place in his mind." Foreign politics in 1859 might well assist him to make a choice between the parties. They were the test question, since the armies were converging for the war of Italian independence, and Gladstone's sympathies were deeply engaged upon the side of Italy. (Had he not dined with Cavour on his way home from Corfu ?) One party must seem less distasteful now, since the Tory prejudice for Austria was palpably wrong-headed, while Palmerston with all his faults took a right view of Italy. Searching his motives, Gladstone discovered "real and close harmony of sentiment" with Palmerston and Russell ; and, as he wrote, "the overwhelming interest and weight of the Italian question, and of our foreign policy in connection with it, joined to my entire mistrust of the former Government in relation to it," made him a Liberal at forty-nine.

Not that he was a Palmerstonian. For the strange record of their partnership was an uncomfortable story, of which a rueful private secretary wrote that "it was a constant source of sorrow to me, and a perpetual cause of

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mystery, to note how they misunderstood one another, and how evidently each mistrusted the other, though perfectly cordial and most friendly in their mutual intercourse." They fought with vigour upon Reform and armaments; Lord Palmerston's insatiable appetite for iron ships and coast defences was a constant source of anguish to his Chancellor; and the Cabinets on departmental Estimates were an annually recurring battlefield piled high with slaughtered memoranda. It sometimes seemed to the Prime Minister that his formidable recruit from Toryism was more than half a Radical; and the old man was heard to mutter that "Gladstone will soon have it all his own way; and whenever he gets my place, we shall have strange doings."

But the Queen was quite untouched by these misgivings. Gladstone was still, for her, an eminently sympathetic figure, a welcome reminder of "our valuable Peel," a sober epitome of all that was most high-minded in public life. She had outgrown her early weakness for experienced and slightly raffish old gentlemen; Disraeli had not yet implanted a taste for the baroque; and Mr. Gladstone, with his judicious views and cultivated tastes, was in perfect harmony with the prevailing atmosphere at Court. His correspondence with Prince Albert was a respectful interchange of extracts from the duller Continental periodicals; his recreations, if one might judge from his contributions to the magazines, lay in the blameless fields of Church discipline and the dead languages; and his political opinions were gratifyingly free from those spirited initiatives in foreign policy, which made life with Lord Palmerston so breathless. There was no need to fear that Mr. Gladstone would be dashing. He had his views, of course; but they were always decorously expressed, and there was not much to show that they represented any dangerous advance upon Sir Robert Peel's. This was most reassuring; and to all appearances his sovereign might look for-

ward to a sedate and comfortable future with Mr. Gladstone.

When the Prince Consort died, a close observer of the Queen reported to Gladstone that "of all her Ministers she seemed to me to think that you had most entered into her feelings, and she dwelt especially upon the manner in which you had parted from her." This was highly promising; and if Mr. Gladstone could maintain his early form, there was no reason in the world why he should not remain a royal favourite. But changes, quite unnoticed by the Queen, were working in him; for Mr. Gladstone was still growing. That decorous exterior remained the same; but the Oxonian in him was gradually replaced by a more lively figure. Although his origins were Tory, his private sympathies inclined him to the Radicals. For Gladstone never learned to be a Whig: his eager mind was too alert for that. When he joined Palmerston in the strange amalgam of Whigs, Radicals, and Peelites, out of which that wary veteran forged the Liberal Party, Gladstone's inclinations lay all towards the Left, since he informed his brother that he was "exceedingly sorry to find that Cobden does not take office," but "very glad we have Gibson." That was significant; his future, if such inclinations were pursued, would lead him into more exciting company than the Prince Consort and his colleagues, since Radicals refreshed themselves with deep draughts of heartening applause in popular assemblies. Mass-meetings were still something of a novelty; but Bright and Cobden had changed the economic face of England a dozen years before on the platforms of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and Mr. Gladstone, an apt pupil, showed no disinclination for these novel exercises. His Northern tour in 1862 was a new kind of triumph for him. Accustomed to the decorous applause that greets a Budget speech, followed by the discreet congratulations of fellow-members and a highly gratifying letter from the Prince, he faced the

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26 headier delights of vast popular receptions—the roaring streets, the thunder of salutes, the flags, the bells, the crowding faces, and the endless speech-making. A local poet toasted the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a lyric which proclaimed :

" Honour give to sterling worth,
Genius better is than birth,
So here's success to Gladstone."

And as all Tyneside roared its gratitude, the hero, dazed but happy, responded in unnumbered speeches. (One of them, indeed, contained a slight lapse from his customary standard of discretion in its announcement on the Civil War beyond the Atlantic that " there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army ; they are making, it appears, a navy ; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation.") The echoes died away ; but a more lasting consequence remained. For the triumphant Chancellor, whose burning eyes and rolling sentences were admirably fitted to the platform, had found a wider audience than he had ever known. Beyond the House of Commons he could see the people of England, ranged and attentive, waiting for him to speak to them ; his sympathy reached out towards the listening masses ; and in the process Mr. Gladstone found his voice.

The change was working in him through the last years of his uneasy partnership with Palmerston. Now the Oxonian was quite submerged by something livelier. Gladstone was growing up ; his aged leader termed him
26 " a dangerous man " ; and when Oxford repudiated her unworthy son, his deep voice informed the Free Trade
27 Hall at Manchester : " At last, my friends, I am come among you, and I am come among you unmuzzled." Here was a new Mr. Gladstone, in whose impressive lineaments it was not easy to detect the paler classicism of his old features. There was no lack of dignity ; few public men moved with a more majestic tread ; but somehow

there was less repose about him. The ardent Italian was getting restive, and his restraining Scotsman was rarely in evidence, although a trace of him still lingered in a lasting taste for fine-spun dialectic. But the guarded Peelite utterance had been quite discarded, and a tendency to eloquence grew on him steadily. He was to be found, a pale, bare-headed figure in the light of an October afternoon, erect and voluble at the centre of a vast, swaying crowd at Blackheath—strange company for a Prime Minister, and with an awkward tendency to shout him down. But as the deep tones rose and fell above their heads, the scattered voices of his interrupters died away; and for an hour and fifty minutes the hearers were regaled with a reasoned discourse on administrative economy, on education, vote by ballot, and the recruitment of the Civil Service. When he reached his half-way house and the small receptacle familiar to two generations of his listeners rose to the speaker's lips, a voice in front bawled out a gay request to the Prime Minister to "give us some." "Yes," he rejoined a little grimly, "you would want some if you had to do what I have." But there were few concessions to frivolity or ignorance in Mr. Gladstone's audiences. For it was assumed that if they chose to stand there in the rising mist, they desired to be informed of public questions to the best of his ability. He was prepared to spend a good deal of his time in this arduous form of popular education; and in the process, though he was almost innocent of the pursuit of popularity, he became "the People's William."

This formidable figure was Prime Minister for six fruitful years, for the first three of which he gave almost unflinching satisfaction to his sovereign. Their harmony from 1868 to 1871 was notable and rarely interrupted. It was too much to hope that their opinions should coincide on every question; but Mr. Gladstone's were invariably stated with profound respect; and the Queen showed herself a ready instrument of conciliation between ministers

and the unwilling objects of their various reforms. It was a season of some difficulty for her, since her health was troublesome and public duties had grown slightly uncongenial after the long retirement of her protracted mourning. The Prime Minister appeared inevitably in the unwelcome guise of a call to duty, of his sovereign's reluctant interrupter breaking in upon her melancholy Capua on Deeside or the Solent ; but his tact preserved their harmony, and there was no breach between them before 1871. That summer the situation was a little delicate, as he was particularly anxious that her departure for Balmoral should be delayed a week or so. For there had been some public criticism of the Throne, which he was anxious to disarm. But she was over-tired, and after a crowded summer the escape to Scotland gleamed like a Promised Land before her. So she went North against his wish ; and the unhappy episode rose like a wall between them.

A graver incident raised it to greater heights. For in 1872 Gladstone's sense of public duty impelled him to a protracted argument upon the desirability of employing the Prince of Wales at Dublin and of transferring some portion of his mother's social duties to the young couple at Marlborough House. The Queen disapproved completely ; and the discussion gravely modified her attitude to Gladstone. Then in the normal course of party politics he went out of office ; and his deft successor wrought further changes in her, while Mr. Gladstone passed from her life into the shades of Opposition and vanished finally (it seemed) into the still deeper shadows of retirement. For Gladstone always had a tendency to ring down the curtain on his long career. Announcing gravely at thirty-three that he was getting near "*the mezzo del cammin*," he had proclaimed in hollow tones that "my years glide away. It is time to look forward to the close." That had been in 1842. Now it was 1874, and he was nearly sixty-five—far older than Sir Robert Peel had ever been. A
craving for "an interval between parliament and the

grave" assailed him; and he composed himself for rest—for rest, that is to say, according to his own somewhat exacting notions, which comprised a spell of Continental travel, Homeric scholarship, irregular attendance at the House of Commons, together with a wealth of ecclesiastical controversy. Accordingly he shed the Liberal leadership. His leave-taking from the Queen was formal in a letter which assured her that "Mr. Gladstone, perhaps for the last time, submits his humble duty," and in spite of his new independence would be in his place in Parliament "so often as any case shall occur which shall touch either your Majesty personally or the Royal family, or the interests of the Throne." His loyalty was suitably acknowledged in the Queen's avowal that "she knows that his zeal & untiring energy have always been exerted with the desire of advancing the welfare of the Nation & maintaining the honor of the Crown, and she thanks him for his loyal assurances of support on all occasions when it may become necessary." These formalities duly completed and the party leadership transmitted to his successor, he withdrew to the vigorous exercises of his retirement.

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Not that his interest in public life abated. Indeed, his disapproval of Disraeli seemed to increase with his detachment, and a white heat of passion frequently informed his occasional interventions in debate, of one of which the bland Prime Minister recorded "Gladstone . . . being all the night in one of his white rages and glancing looks at me, which would have annihilated any man who had not a good majority and a determination to use it." Then he returned to Hawarden and the silence and his books. But the silence was anything but unbroken; and sounds drifted in through Mr. Gladstone's study window, by which his rest was sadly interrupted. It was almost impossible, he found, to concentrate upon theology under a Tory Government. For how could he continue his agreeable task of annotation on the fascinating theme

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32 of "Future Retribution" with the Near East in flames? His notes were promptly laid aside; lumbago was defied; and he sat up in bed to write a scarifying pamphlet on *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*. It was a quarter of a century since foreign suffering had moved him to a memorable onslaught on the King of Naples; and once more oppression roused Mr. Gladstone. This time it was the Turks; and as his passion mounted to a *crescendo*, he implored his countrymen to fling them out of Europe:

33 "Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned."

The lonely voice rang out from Hawarden, filled the country, and reverberated in the House of Commons, until the thunder of its echoes came back from crowded meetings in Midlothian, where Mr. Gladstone forced a way through lanes of cheering Scotsmen to denounce the Government and all its works. Now he was close on
34 seventy, still gnawed by fear that "health and strength would be unequal to the strain at my time of life" and praying "that I may escape into retirement." But rest was not for Mr. Gladstone whilst he could see—or thought he saw—injustice in high places. The interlude among his books had merely given him new strength; and, like his Queen, those years had brought him to his final phase. He took the field again, a venerable figure now with a new freedom in his gait. The prim Oxonian, the judicious Peelite, and the cautious Liberal had all vanished; and in place of them his startled sovereign and his cheering countrymen beheld "the Grand Old Man," half Major Prophet and half force of nature, as he thundered and lightened unforgettably and swept back to office on the shoulders of Midlothian.

II

CONVERGENCE

THERE is sometimes a significance about first meetings ; but theirs was quite without it. For one summer day in 1837 the Oxford address upon the Queen's accession was presented at St. James's Palace by Mr. Gladstone, of Christ Church, who had been Under-Secretary for the Colonies in Sir Robert Peel's administration. But though both parties were indefatigable diarists, neither of them paused to describe the meeting, his journal giving the bare fact—"Went up with the Oxford Address. An interesting occasion"—and the Queen recording merely that the ceremonial was well attended, the room intensely hot, her Garter mantle of blue velvet lined with white silk, and Lord Melbourne's reading of her Speech distinguished by so much good feeling—but not a word of Mr. Gladstone.

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They did not meet again until he went to Claremont four years later to be sworn of her Privy Council. That was a trying day for her, as she had just parted from her first and friendliest Prime Minister, receiving "the last letter which Lord Melbourne will send in a box," and it was to usher in the unknown in the chilly person of Sir Robert Peel and his Tory colleagues. Small wonder that she was a little flushed ; even Mr. Gladstone, the new Vice-President of the Board of Trade, noticed how she sat at the head of the long Council table, "composed but dejected," and felt quite sorry for her. But she was calm enough to rectify an error of Charles Greville's ; and her voice was clear, as she read out the Order in Council appointing Mr. Gladstone. He kissed her hand, walked through the ritual of oaths and genuflexions, and got a

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handshake from Prince Albert ; then they all went off except the Duke of Wellington, who stayed behind to speak to her for a few minutes.

Those were the remote surroundings of their early meetings, when Prince Albert was a bridegroom and before the Queen was a young mother. Lord Melbourne's memory still hung regretted on the Palace air, as the smooth, dark head of Mr. Gladstone knelt before her and their long association opened—that prolonged duet that lasted until almost yesterday. It seems to open in the very dawn of time. For he was a colleague of the Duke of Wellington ; even his departmental chief had been Prime Minister to George IV ; and the young apprentice was himself an office-holder of King William's reign. Not that his slight seniority had any power to arm him with assurance, as he approached his sovereign's young presence. For when he dined at the Palace early in the next year, his diary confessed that Mr. Gladstone “dreaded personal introduction to the Queen, in the same way as at the different earlier stages of this pilgrimage to my Head Master at school, and to the Duke of Newcastle when in 1832 I first went to Newark.” But he was not too shy to notice and “lament the absence of a Chaplain, or even grace at Palace dinners : I wonder in whose reign this began. Perhaps she will some day supply the omission. Even in the eternal sense Majesty never can be perfect, never can put on its most august aspect, without religion.” For his piety deplored the last traces of the Regency and strained eagerly towards the purer air of a sweeter, simpler reign.

But he saw nothing more of her until he went to Windsor in the first days of 1845. This time the royal babies were produced to shake his hand ; and Majesty was pleased to say that Mrs. Gladstone would think them dwarfs next to her own. The evening was exciting, as after dinner they sat down to cards. That was embarrassing, as the cautious Gladstone had locked up his purse

before coming down to dine ; but happily he was not called upon to pay, since he won nearly half-a-crown and positively collected eightpence of his winnings from the Prince himself—" I mean to keep the *2d.* piece (the *6d.* I cannot identify) accordingly, unless I lose it again to-night." The evening ended with " rather a nice conversation " with Prince Albert upon the rousing theme of an Anglo-Prussian copyright convention. But when the happy guest walked off to bed, the triumph of his evening was a little dimmed by a tactless intimation from the Groom of the Chambers that the knee of his Court suit had split, which left him wondering uneasily if it had been in this unhappy state throughout the royal entertainment.

Their next encounter was official, when he resigned from office three weeks later upon a point of Church government which his conscience found troublesome. His explanation to the House of Commons left Cobden mystified, but full of admiration, murmuring : " What a marvellous talent is this—here have I been sitting listening with pleasure for an hour to his explanation, and yet I know no more why he left the Government than before he began." But the Queen was spared these subtleties, since he confined himself to an expression of regret and of gratitude for royal kindness ; then she said something about the gratifying diminution of Chartism, asked after Mrs. Gladstone, and closed the audience.

He was soon back in office, though, when Peel, a convert to Free Trade, assembled his supporters in a Cabinet to end the Corn Laws and made Gladstone his Colonial Secretary. A Secretary of State, he had now the duty of writing to his sovereign upon Colonial Office business ; and for the first time " Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to the Queen " in the last week of 1845, with a proposal that Lord Fitzroy Somerset should go to Canada as Governor-General. He had enquired of Wellington about the appointment ; and his formidable

colleague devoted part of Christmas Day to the composition of an impressive testimonial to his invaluable military factotum. That veteran had served him
n. "during the whole of the late War in the Peninsula ; and in Flanders" ; his services were still of value at the Horse Guards ; but if he were required elsewhere, the Duke would be responsible for everything and "secure the performance of the duty in such manner as to satisfy Her Majesty's Servants and to secure the Publick Interests." For it had never been his way at any time in the last forty years to make difficulties about a little extra work ; and Wellington, at seventy-six, was quite prepared to oblige young Secretary Gladstone. Two ages seem to meet in that exchange of letters ; for one correspondent had seen active service against the armies of the First Republic, and the other lived on until Sir Herbert Kitchener was campaigning in the Sudan. Indeed,
3 Gladstone's official correspondence seemed full of military interest, since it fell to him to ask royal leave for the Park guns to fire in honour of Gough's victories in the Sikh War. He had been at Windsor for New Year, 1846, when
42 the Queen encored a song by the Castle servants ; the royal children were on view once more, and he found the Prince of Wales "as good in expression as can be conceived." Then there were decorations to be sanctioned
5 for a naval officer, who had commanded the blockade of Buenos Aires, where the cold tyranny of Rosas defied the
8 Powers, and more guns to boom for Indian victories ; but sometimes his royal correspondence touched the more
6 congenial theme of Colonial bishoprics and the benefactions of the good Miss Burdett Coutts.
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But all through 1846 the Tory wolves were after Peel ; and in June they dragged him down. One by one his
43 colleagues had their audiences of the Queen to give up their seals of office, Gladstone recording how she said something gracious about his father and took his seals with a kindly intimation that she was very sorry to

receive them from him. He was quite sorry for her too, because "her eyes told tales, but she smiled and put on a cheerful countenance." For, as he saw, it cost her a good deal to part with the Peelites: "it was in fact the 1st of September, 1841, over again as to feelings." But this time the parting was not from the genial tutelage of Melbourne, but from Peel's incomparable judgment and the sagacity of Aberdeen, both of which she had learnt to value. Small wonder that she moved reluctantly towards a dark future with the Whigs, in which the uncertain temper of John Russell was only one degree less uncongenial than Palmerston's ill-timed vivacity. For her tastes were formed; her first repugnance overcome, she had learnt how to work with Peel and his disciples; Albert could collaborate with them in a happy interchange of memoranda; and it was anything but certain how far Lord Palmerston would prove a well-conducted pupil in that school. So Mr. Gladstone and the Peelites went out in 1846, followed by their sovereign's regretful eyes. While they watched the course of party politics from their distinguished isolation, he took steps to keep alive his friendship with Prince Albert by a gift of his latest publication—two volumes on *The Roman State, from 1815 to 1850*, translated from the Italian—gratefully acknowledged, added to the royal library, and to be perused by its harassed recipient "when his time is less occupied than it is at present." A third volume followed in the next year. His more inflammatory writings on the state of Naples were not, it seems, despatched to the same destination.

But such pursuits were laid aside once more in 1852, when Aberdeen returned to office at the head of an inclusive Coalition. The Whigs persisted; but there was room for hope that Palmerston would prove less trying at the Home Office; and, with Graham at the Admiralty, Sidney Herbert at the War Office, and Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, there would be a gratifying recurrence of the Peelites. This comforted the Queen as the Peelites

5 were eminently reliable; besides, the Palace had a high opinion of Mr. Gladstone. Had not the Prince suggested to Lord Derby that the unruly Tories in the House of Commons, of whom the Peelite wing excusably refused to sit behind Disraeli, might serve under Gladstone? True, Derby had replied that Gladstone was quite unfit for leadership because he lacked decision, boldness, readiness, and clearness; besides, he was not prepared to sacrifice Disraeli. But Prince Albert's nomination of Mr. Gladstone for the Tory leadership in 1852 was plainly indicative of royal favour; and when Aberdeen was hesitating between two names for Chancellor of the Exchequer, the royal preference for Gladstone was decisive:

6 "Lord Aberdeen wavered between Sir J. Graham and Mr. Gladstone. . . . Lord John wished Sir James as Chancellor of the Exchequer. We argued the greater capabilities of Sir James for the Administration of the Colonies, and Mr. Gladstone for the Finances.

"*Chancellor of the Exchequer*—therefore, Mr. Gladstone."

It was quite evident that Gladstone as Chancellor was almost a royal choice. For if "our valuable Peel" was gone, his favourite pupil still remained.

7 His first official acts were watched by the same kindly eyes. He had a lengthy audience to expound the Budget of 1853 to Prince Albert; and when it was introduced, John Russell's praise of him (" . . . one of the most powerful financial speeches ever made in the House of Commons. Mr. Pitt in the days of his glory might have been more imposing, but he could not have been more persuasive ") was forwarded with royal thoughtfulness for him to read, Prince Albert adding gaily that he trusted Mr. Gladstone's Christian humility would not allow him to become dangerously elated. The Prince was even jocular, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted

patterns of a new coinage for Australia, upon which the royal brow receded slightly—"the Medallist has deprived H.M. of part of her intellect by making her forehead excessively flat and retreating." They corresponded freely on Prince Albert's favourite plans for a more systematic rearrangement of the capital by concentrating all the learned Societies in a splendid home near Hyde Park Corner and depositing the National Gallery at Kensington. A burst of princely humour hinted that Burlington House would make admirable barracks; but when Mr. Gladstone responded gravely with three numbered reasons to the contrary, Prince Albert was forced to explain that his suggestion had been a joke. It is humiliating even for commoners to explain a joke; but it was not always safe to joke with Mr. Gladstone.

He was a frequent guest at Court, where the Queen was invariably gracious and he had "a go upon Reform and the Crown Estates with the Prince." There was not the least constraint, and he found the sovereign "above all so thoroughly natural." But his views were not always to the royal taste, a proposal to recruit the lower grades of the Civil Service by competitive examination appearing to the Queen to involve immense and irretrievable changes. Two memoranda and an audience were needed, before the royal sanction was conceded, "altho' not without considerable misgivings." But he was still in friendly correspondence with the Prince, abetting his designs for buying sound Italian pictures for the national collection.

As 1854 advanced, the eastern sky was darkened by the clouds of war, and Lord Aberdeen's unwarlike Coalition ran into heavy weather. After an uncomfortable interlude of resignations Lord Palmerston took office to the Queen's profound dismay. But it was some consolation to his anxious sovereign that the new Prime Minister invited the Peelite cohort to stay in the Cabinet. They hesitated; but their hesitations were ended by the diplomacy of their own leader. For the Prince himself had positively asked Lord

Aberdeen to induce Gladstone, Herbert, and Graham to serve in the new Government ; and after a becoming interval of coyness they complied. Their services were highly valued by the Queen, if less highly by the Prime Minister ; and she reported hopefully to King Leopold at Brussels that, in spite of Palmerston's disturbing advent, their inclusion " would be very important, and would tend to allay the *alarm* which his name will, I fear, produce abroad."

So Gladstone was still Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1855 ; but not for long. Before a month was fairly out, the Peelite consciences were troubled once again upon a Parliamentary point. For they were profoundly shocked by the Prime Minister's consent to a Select Committee on the war ; Prince Albert felt the same, comparing Mr. Roebuck's Committee to the revolutionary Convention of 1793 ; and the Queen hoped loudly that she should not be given over to " those who are the least fit to govern." But Palmerston, having attained the pinnacle of office, was disinclined to try conclusions with the House of Commons unnecessarily just to please the Peelites. The Cabinet was hopelessly divided ; and an anxious note summoned Gladstone to the Palace before the final meeting. He had a conversation with the Prince, in which the Chancellor was pressed with flattering insistence to stay in office. But the royal prayers were unavailing, and the Peelites resigned. Gladstone's audience on leaving office was prolonged and friendly. He had already assured Prince Albert that his first consideration was the position of the Crown ; and he repeated this admirable sentiment to the Queen. They shook their heads together over a disturbing prospect of weak Governments (a polite expression, it may be conjectured, for Lord Palmerston). " She observed that the prospect is not agreeable. I said, True, madam, but it is a great consolation that all these troubles are upon the surface, and that the throne has for a long time been gaining and not losing stability from year

to year. I could see but one danger to the throne, and that was from encroachments by the House of Commons." And upon this blameless sentiment they parted.

The parting was prolonged, since Palmerston surprised them all by being anything but weak. That wary, active, shrewd, industrious old man, whom optimistic rivals had regarded as a harmless dotard, flourished amazingly upon the bitter herbs of office in war-time. His courage brought the nation through the black winter of 1855; and when the war was over, it was found that he had been promoted in his countrymen's regard from a war-time expedient to the unquestioned status of a national institution. Even the Palace, where his advent had been observed with unconcealed alarm, was almost reconciled; Stockmar told someone that the Queen disliked him less, and the Prime Minister took quite a pride in having overcome the royal prejudice against him. "The Queen," as a sardonic colleague wrote, "must . . . not persist in thinking him the Palmerston of old. He has put off the old man and has become a babe of grace." While this happy transformation-scene proceeded, Mr. Gladstone wandered on the misty shore of politics, a disembodied spirit without prospects upon either bank. The cheerful militancy of Lord Palmerston repelled him powerfully, and he ranged himself among the advocates of peace. That drift, if he pursued it, would align him with the Radicals; but another tendency seemed to correct it, since the Tories angled assiduously for their straying brother, and there were moments in his private dealings with their leader, Derby, when the Peelite brand seemed positively on the point of being snatched from the burning. His distaste for Palmerston was quite unconquerable: "I can neither give even the most qualified adhesion to the ministry of Lord Palmerston, nor follow the liberal party in the abandonment of the very principles and pledges which were original and principal bonds of union with it"—and if he acted on

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such feelings, he must inevitably find himself in active co-operation with the Tories. But his Peelite scruples still barred the way to Tory reunion, and he paused disconsolately between the parties. It was an uncomfortable interlude, in which opinion with its customary impatience of fine shades was more than a little inclined to dismiss Mr. Gladstone as a distinctly unreliable character. Indeed, a superficial observer might have been excused in 1857 for regarding his career as a sad instance of early promise blighted by later misadventure ; for there was something highly disconcerting in the spectacle of Peel's brilliant young colleague hovering so inconclusively above Radicals and Tories, an *ignis fatuus* of politics. It is a sobering reflection that for some years the general view of Mr. Gladstone was that he was flighty.

These somewhat incoherent activities of a politician out of place were conducted at a becoming distance from the Court, though he was still occasionally to be met at an official dinner. But the rich convolutions of his Odyssey scarcely multiplied his contacts with the Queen, who had learnt once again the recurring lesson of her reign, that the most admirable ministers are rarely indispensable. For she had learnt to live without Lord M. ; life had been quite endurable without "our valuable Peel" ; no catastrophe had followed the departure of "our excellent Aberdeen" ; and now she felt quite anxious when Lord Palmerston's precarious majority was threatened by the Opposition. So Mr. Gladstone was left to his uncertainties, pleasantly relieved by Homer and contributions to the magazines on learned subjects and the marriage laws. Politically he was quite in a backwater now, disparagingly labelled as the finest speaker and the weakest man in the House of Commons. For he bore that reputation for an ability to think, which is so often fatal to political careers ; and Tory journalists remarked with condescension on the hopeless ineptitude of "cerebral natures" for the arts of government. "Men of mere intellect," they wrote with

Gladstone in their minds, were ill-fitted for affairs compared with Disraeli, since (unlike that zealot) they were "without moral passion." Such was the strange inversion of that pair of reputations in 1857—Disraeli ablaze with moral passion, and Gladstone steering by the cold light of intellect.

Not that the Tories dismissed him quite so lightly, since Lord Derby asked Gladstone to take office with them when they tripped up Palmerston in 1858. The invitation was repeated, with a charming offer by Disraeli to transfer the Commons leadership to a Peelite veteran under whom both he and Gladstone might (it was hoped) serve without embarrassment. But the twig was limed in vain ; both invitations were declined ; and the anchorite retained his solitary lodge in the wilderness of politics. That year, however, he was induced to leave it for a brief interval. A romantic novelist, imperfectly disguised as Secretary for the Colonies, adopted a romantic notion ; and Bulwer Lytton invited Gladstone to sail for the Ionian Islands as Her Majesty's Special Commissioner—a British Odysseus outward-bound for Ithaca. The islands were a slightly troublesome inheritance from the peace-settlement of 1815, which the rising temper of Greek nationalism did not make it any easier to govern. There was incessant local trouble, which refused to yield to the simple-minded solvent of a little flogging. It rapidly became apparent that something must be done to satisfy the Greeks, and that someone must go out and do it. Mr. Gladstone, as all readers of the monthly magazines were well aware, knew Greek. True, his acquaintance with it was confined to the Epic dialect of Homer ; but as the Corfiotes largely talked Italian, that would not greatly matter. Besides, he was a Philhellene—not quite, perhaps, of the same pattern as Lord Byron, but still a Philhellene. If he went out, the Greeks would be profoundly gratified ; and, what was more, the appointment might draw him a step nearer to the Tories. So

he was asked with due precautions ; and with a rich sufficiency of safeguards he accepted. The Queen approved ; and when local complications impelled him to assume the further office of High Commissioner, a royal letter conveyed her satisfaction : " the Queen . . .
55 gladly accepts his patriotic offer. He will have difficulty in solving a delicate question, affecting national feeling, against time, but his offer comes most opportunely."

The work was admirably done (although he subsequently declined the guerdon of a G.C.M.G., raised later to a G.C.B.). He pronounced discourses in Italian,
59 savoured cheers in Greek, and danced with Homeric vigour on the dancing-floors of Ithaca ; he went to Athens in a cruiser, and he was most unfavourably impressed by Islam, when he encountered it in the course of a brief excursion to Albania. (Strange that the same phenomena, which had fired Disraeli's fancy for a lifetime, merely elicited from Mr. Gladstone's journal a dejected
60 exclamation that " the whole impression is saddening ; it is all indolence, decay, stagnation ; the image of God seems as it were nowhere. But there is much of wild and picturesque.") His task performed, he hurried home, leaving behind a reputation for Philhellenism (although he was not yet in favour of ceding the islands to the Greeks) which lasted him a lifetime and fructified a few years later in the magnificent, if wholly unofficial, proposal that Mr. Gladstone should become King of Greece.
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The trip left traces on him, since it was his first experience of a misgoverned island—a species of which Mr. Gladstone was to see more, much more, before life ended. But the Irish Question was still some years ahead of him ; and the homeward journey had more influence on his immediate prospects than anything that he had seen at Corfu. For he travelled across Lombardy, where the long columns of Franz-Joseph's whitecoats were moving slowly into place. A war was brewing ; and at Milan and Vicenza Gladstone saw the Austrians standing stiffly to their

arms. His sympathies were always strongly Italian, and a dinner with Cavour at Turin did nothing to reduce the warmth of his convictions. Small wonder that the Italian problem haunted the returned traveller to the exclusion of all others, and that his Tory sympathies were sharply checked by the party's Austrian proclivities. Now he was drifting rapidly towards the opposing quarter, where Palmerston and Russell with all their defects were strong for Italy. Here was a crux at last to which his logic knew the answer. For the object nearest to his eye was Italy; and Mr. Gladstone made his final choice between the parties by the test of their respective Italian policies. To choose the Tories would align him with the Austrian oppressor; to follow Palmerston would land him safely on the side of Italy—that Italy whose art, thought, institutions, history, and literature he adored, whose language was his pastime, whose dungeons had evoked his indignation in a form that Aberdeen found so embarrassing a few years earlier. Had not someone termed him an Italian in the custody of a Scotsman? In 1859 the Italian broke loose; and while the Scotsman's attention was momentarily distracted, Gladstone made the most important choice of all his long career for the sake of Italy.

His choice was clear enough; but he moved towards it through a slight curve. For whilst he pressed the Opposition to turn out the Tory Government, some strange scruple impelled him to vote with the Government of which he disapproved. But that was the last Tory vote that Mr. Gladstone ever cast; and five weeks later he introduced a Budget as Lord Palmerston's Chancellor of the Exchequer. His correspondence with the Crown resumed. The Prince Consort was soon sending him a print of his address before the British Association at Aberdeen; and Mr. Gladstone dined at Windsor to receive the Queen's positively Palmerstonian admonition that he "must prepare a large Budget." Prince and

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Chancellor exchanged instructive articles from the reviews, and Gladstone sent a copy of his own *Translations* for the sake of a version of Schiller, receiving in return a memorandum by the Crown Princess of Prussia translated by the Prince of Wales. A graceful gesture of the Prince promoted him to be an Elder Brother of the Trinity House ; but their friendly intercourse was broken by the tragedy of 1861, which left the Queen a widow. She was profoundly touched by his condolence ; a close witness of them both reported to him that she
23 "saw how much you felt for her." His feelings were expressed in a public tribute, which elicited a letter of heart-breaking gratitude from Osborne. Her will still bore her up—"the Queen struggles & works—& *will* devote herself to *do* what her precious Husband wishes." (There is something harrowing in that present tense.) But her strength, she felt, would not be equal to the effort ; and "Mrs. Gladstone who the Queen knows is a *most* tender wife—may—in a faint manner picture to herself what the Queen suffers." He replied with genuine emotion in terms which touched her once again ; and his
56 observant friend at Court wrote that "it must indeed be gratifying to you to have the power, as you have the feeling, to give real consolation to such a person at such a season—and moreover it is of great importance to this country that there should be such a sympathy existing between you."

It was indeed ; for Palmerston could not go on for ever. Russell was not much younger, and the succession would fall to Gladstone. If he was to be Prime Minister, her friendship was essential ; and he seemed quite assured of it. For she warned him thoughtfully against overwork and asked kindly after Mrs. Gladstone ; his audiences in 1863 were "pleasant, even delightful" and "all as one could wish" ; and they exchanged quotations from Guizot and Shelley. She seemed to enjoy his company ;
59 and once, after he had dined with her at Balmoral, she

positively felt that she had been more cheerful than was becoming to her mournful state. She spoke to him with perfect freedom of his colleagues and her anxieties about the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Gladstone showed himself a most respectful listener. He had his feelings, too, upon the subject of his aged leader, although no hint of their Cabinet dissensions on the fruitful theme of economy and national defence crept into his correspondence with the Queen. But perhaps the strong and growing sympathy between them owed something to a silent consciousness that on occasion they both disagreed with Palmerston. At any rate, the Queen felt no difficulty in speaking freely to him, as the *imbroglio* of Schleswig-Holstein developed its formidable complications. She spoke her mind, or rather the Prince Consort's; for, as Gladstone diagnosed, "her recollections of the Prince's sentiments" were "a barometer to govern her sympathies and affections." This mood was on her, when she wrote to him that "Germany is not ever likely to attack us—she who *ought* to be our *real* ally!" Such royal confidences showed plainly that she looked to Gladstone as a potential ally in her running fight with the Prime Minister; and a gracious offer to lend Abergeldie to the Gladstones for the autumn of 1864 was a further sign of royal favour. Indeed, what higher proof could there be of her deference to his Italian prejudices than the surprising fact that the Queen brought herself to speak "good-humouredly of Garibaldi"?

Under these bright skies they sailed together through the last years of Palmerston's predominance. Her burden was so heavy now; and the Prime Minister's vagaries, aided by his aged Foreign Secretary, made it no lighter. Palmerston and Russell were almost wholly indifferent, it seemed, to what Prince Albert would have done; and she could scarcely bring herself to write to King Leopold about "the conduct of those two dreadful old men." But somehow Gladstone seemed different; there was nothing

in the official duties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring him into unfriendly contact with the Crown ; and it was almost a testimonial to him, when Palmerston
71 reported to the Queen that " Mr. Gladstone has been as troublesome and wrong-headed as he often is upon subjects discussed in Cabinet." Things might be easier, when she was left alone with Gladstone ; and when time removed Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell took his place with Gladstone at his elbow. He led the Commons now ; and the
64 Queen wrote to tell him of " her gratification at the accounts she hears from all sides of the admirable manner in which he has commenced his Leadership in the House of Commons." His thanks were courtly ; and he showed
65 himself extremely obliging about one of those public statements as to her children's duties, through which the path to her affections lay. When they were beaten on Reform in 1866, she was reluctant to take back the Tories, her Private Secretary informing Gladstone that
72 she " considers it the bounden duty of her Ministers, in the present state of the Continent, not to abandon their posts, for she *knows* that it would be impossible at this moment to form another Government which could command the Public Confidence." But although she pressed
73 them to inform the House of Commons that she hesitated to accept their resignation occasioned by defeat upon a matter of detail at a time of European crisis, they persisted in resigning. So the Prussians marched to Sadowa, and
74 the Government resigned. The final audience was " short but kind " ; and Mr. Gladstone cleared up his papers at 11 Downing Street, and left the keys behind for his successor with an uncomfortable feeling that " somehow it makes a void."

The void was filled for him by a short bout of Continental travel. They went to Rome, where he was pre-
75 sented to the Pope, eliciting from *Pio Nono* the slightly enigmatic aphorism that he liked but did not understand Mr. Gladstone, both understood and liked Lord Clarendon,

understood and disliked Cardwell, and neither liked nor understood Argyll. The void was filled for her by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Queen recorded that Disraeli was "amiable and clever, but is a strange man." Her taste for strange men had not yet developed; for she still lived in the tradition of Prince Albert. Gladstone was asked down to dine and sleep at Windsor; and the gift of Mr. Martin's first volume of the Prince's *Life* marked her esteem. His thanks were eloquent; and the numerous erasures on the draft display his anxiety to please. But politics were brisk; the cauldron of Reform boiled cheerfully through 1867; Gladstone, Bright, and Lowe each thundered in his key; and Disraeli wrote off picturesque accounts to the Queen in the intervals of answering them all. In the next year he succeeded to Lord Derby's inheritance as Prime Minister; but his reign was brief. For Gladstone moved his siege-artillery against the weakest outwork of the Tory fortress and opened the bombardment with his Resolutions on the Irish Church. The first of them was carried, and the Government hung on the brink of resignation. The Queen was understood to view the Opposition's course with disapproval; for though Gladstone was out of office, he had good information through Lord Granville, who had done faithful service as Court tale-bearer and go-between in the troubled times of Palmerston. Gladstone was sceptical, however, as he retained a high opinion of "the Queen's good sense, good feeling, and constitutional knowledge" and was inclined to doubt her being influenced by "the charge brought against us, if it has been brought by the confidential advisers of the Crown in error, and still more if in light-minded or factious error." He was reluctant to believe that anyone had got at her. For he had served the Crown for forty years; and nobody in his experience—not even Melbourne—had done such a thing. Besides, the Tories were comparative strangers to office. But if they had really persuaded her that she had a

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78 grievance, it would be just as well for Granville to explain the matter. Granville proceeded to explain, "although," as he wrote, "it is more than likely that Dizzy may have persuaded the Queen that the idea of our failing in respect came from Her Majesty." Disraeli's strange ascendancy was not yet established; but the observant Granville evidently felt so early as 1868 that he was not above using the Queen's feelings as an instrument of party warfare. This novel circumstance might give rise to difficulties for the next Liberal administration; but Gladstone was not without resources for subterranean warfare at Court. For Granville was a trusted courtier and a sharp observer; and the Dean of Windsor, who had known Gladstone ever since they were both at Eton, was always ready to coach him on correct behaviour with the Queen. But there would be difficulties: so much was clear. For the Queen had her opinions; the Prince of Wales had prejudices of his own; the younger royalties had theirs, to say nothing of the Duke of Cambridge, solidly entrenched as Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards; and the cheerful Granville might well write, "On the whole I doubt whether the Royal Family will prove an important element of the sweets of office." That winter Parliament dissolved; a General Election swept away the Tories; and General Grey hurried off to Hawarden with a letter from the Queen.

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III HARMONY

It was December, 1868. The General Election had produced a handsome Liberal majority and destroyed Disraeli's chances of retaining office ; and a new Prime Minister was needed. Without the slightest hesitation the Queen sent for Mr. Gladstone. First, a telegram arrived at Hawarden announcing that General Grey was on his way with a royal letter. It was brought out to Gladstone, who was in his shirt-sleeves cutting down a tree under the respectful gaze of Evelyn Ashley. (It had been no part of the latter's duties as Private Secretary to Lord Palmerston to hold his leader's coat and watch him cut down trees.) Gladstone read the telegram and handed it to Ashley, remarking curtly, " Very significant." Then the axe resumed its play, until he stopped, leant on the handle, and said in his deep voice, " My mission is to pacify Ireland." Grey arrived that afternoon ; Mrs. Gladstone met him at the station, drove him back to Hawarden, and took him into a room where Mr. Gladstone was working in the firelight by a pair of candles. The royal letter was delivered, and they discussed the Queen's views as to his future colleagues. He knew something of her feelings already. There was Granville's warning earlier in the year ; and Dean Wellesley had been asked to let him know her sentiments about the Foreign Office. His cautions had been quite distinct :

" I imagine the crisis to be near at hand. . . . I write . . . simply in order to assist you, as far as I can,

with my experience here & my observation of what goes on.

" 1st. I know that the Queen has a great regard for you, and believes you to be attached to her & anxious to consult her wishes & comfort, as far as is possible, so that you need have no fear but that you will be received at the outset with the greatest cordiality personally.

" 2. She differs however from you on the question of Disestablishment & will probably tell you so frankly. For this you must be prepared. . . .

" 3. . . . The other difficulty I wish only to hint at. The F.O.—Upon this you may expect to find repugnance as to some individual whom you may possibly propose.—All I advise upon this head is that you should not pledge yourself to anyone till you have seen Her. . . . I know of no other obstacle you are likely to encounter. She does not seem to me to object even to advanced Liberals in the Cabinet. But with the F[oreign] Minister next to the Premier, she has intimate personal relations.

" 4. Everything depends upon your manner of approaching the Queen. Her nervous susceptibility has much increased since you had to do with her before & you cannot show too much regard, gentleness, I might say even tenderness towards Her.—Where you differ it will be best not at first to try and reason her over to your side but pass the matter lightly over with expression of respectful regret, & reserve it—for there is no one with whom more is gained by getting her into the habit of intercourse with you. Put off, till she has become accustomed to see you, all discussions which are not absolutely necessary for the day." . . .

Gladstone had taken it extremely well, and his reply contained a most disarming admission of his own defects :

" Every motive of duty, feeling & interest that can touch a man should bind me to study to the best of my small power the manner of my relations with H.M. She is a woman, a widow, a lover of truth, a Sovereign, a benefactress, to her country. What titles ! I should be ashamed even to add to them the recollection of much kindness received.

" On the other hand I have plenty of besetting infirmities. Among others I am a man so eager upon things, as not enough to remember always what is due to persons—& I have another great fault in the unrestrained or too little restrained manifestation of first impressions, which I well know is quite a different thing from the virtue of mental transparency. The height of my ambition is among friends to find those who will frankly warn me against those & other errors. . . . But indeed few things would be more painful to me than the thought in retrospect that I could at any time have caused H.M. one moment of gratuitous pain or trouble.

" Next you may rely upon it that I do not require even your assurance as to the cordial support which the Queen gives to her ministry. Who could suppose that H.M. could now change the unbroken practice of 30 years ? . . .

" I receive with pleasure what you say about advanced ' Liberals,' but I may also reply that with no advanced Liberal of whatever school have I ever exchanged a word upon coming events."

So Grey's arrival found him quite prepared. He made no difficulties over Court appointments ; the Queen was at liberty to please herself about the Lords-in-Waiting ; but it would not be quite so easy to exclude Lord Clarendon from the Foreign Office, because Gladstone was to some extent committed to the appointment. Exclusion at this stage would hardly do, as it might indicate the Queen her-

85 self as the objector. The two men travelled back to town together, and Gladstone spoke freely of his projects for the Irish Church. Then he went in to have his audience, and the Queen found him "most cordial and kind in his manner." It was arranged that he should see Clarendon, dwell tactfully upon his failing health, and coax him, if possible, to take some other office. Gladstone confessed to her that it was a fault of his own to be incautious in his speech and talked of his future colleagues—of Mr. Bright, whom he was sure that she would like, and Mr. Lowe, whom he diagnosed as the possessor of "a very angular mind."

76 His interview with Clarendon was unsuccessful, that veteran insisting gamely that, although he was quite prepared to stay in private life, he should accept no other office. But the Prime Minister had improved the occasion with a little homily upon the need, "in a special sense now as compared with former periods, that a peculiar care and caution should be used so as not to aggravate unnecessarily in any point by word or act the heavy and constant cares of Your Majesty's august station." So there was no
77 more to be said; and a frank answer from the Queen, whilst her regrets survived, hoped bravely for the best.

So the Government was safely formed; and Mr. Gladstone grouped round him the strange constellation of Lowe, Clarendon, Bright, Childers, Cardwell, and Granville in his *grand ministère*, to be remembered by him afterwards as "one of the best instruments for government that ever were constructed." Their tasks began at once, with an
86 axe laid firmly at the root of the Irish upas tree. He had an audience in order to expound his Irish Church policy,
87 and found it "graciously received." He worked at it all Christmas Day; and as 1868 went out, Gladstone was almost prepared with his first contribution to the peace of Ireland.

But the opening weeks of 1869 were clouded by a minor incident that was a type of many more that were to follow. A spirited young Liberal named G. O. Trevelyan, who had just been appointed Civil Lord of the Admiralty, gave an exhibition of his spirit in a rousing speech, in which he spoke with emphasis of "a Royal Duke in permanent command of the Army" and of the "tremendous influence of the Court" as an obstacle to War Office reform. Reported in an evening paper, this ebullition reached high places; and a grave note from General Grey enclosed a cutting and conveyed to the Prime Minister that such utterances must be stopped—"it seems indeed 86 n. to H.M. to be a serious question whether after so grave an offence, Mr. Trevelyan should be allowed to continue to hold the situation to which he has been appointed." Gladstone telegraphed polite astonishment at his young colleague's words and wrote a handsome repudiation of 87 such inflammatory sentiments. A second letter enclosed a full apology by Mr. Trevelyan, and his leader argued chivalrously that the lapse had been partly "due 91 to rashness connected with inexperience, but undoubtedly in part also to a slip of the tongue, the employment of words he did not mean to use, and then a momentary confusion resulting from a painful sense of his lapse"—all accidents that, "as Mr. Gladstone knows alike from observation and from experience, happen to persons who have not like Mr. Trevelyan the excuse of youth." Full amends should be made to the Duke of Cambridge through the War Department; and Mr. Gladstone hoped that his impetuous subordinate, "who is really a gentleman of high character, ability, and promise, has received a lesson for life." The Queen was gracious when he saw her a few days later; and his exposition on the Irish Church "appeared to be well taken." The Gladstones dined with her, and she was "altogether at ease." Indeed, 89

she brought herself to speak "very kindly about Lord Clarendon, Mr. Bright, Mr. Lowe . . .", although her silence on the Irish Church was slightly ominous. The royal doubts about this measure were plainly stated in a letter, which closed, however, with a handsome assurance that if the Bill were "*such as she can conscientiously approve*, he may *entirely* depend" on her assistance. But in the circumstances she was reluctant to open Parliament in person.

This intimation reached him through Sir William Jenner, who was always slightly inclined to tragic views of the royal health. Health, indeed, was only one of several reasons in the present instance; and the Queen's reluctance was attributed with perfect candour to "an anxiety to avoid any appearance of personal interference in the great question pending with respect to the Irish Church." Gladstone was disinclined to press her and limited himself to a respectful intimation that, owing to unauthorised announcements on the subject, the public would be disappointed. The Queen's reply admitted that the point had not been raised by ministers; and the matter was allowed to drop, the Prime Minister assuring her of his anxiety to ease her burdens, and the sovereign almost apologising for speaking "of *herself* so much, but as her *object* is to *try & enable* her to go on working for the benefit of her Children, Country & Friends & to do so *as long as she can*—she is *bound* to do every thing to secure that object. . . . *Complete rest*, the Queen (perhaps the *only person* who cannot do so) *never* has." A sympathetic silence closed the incident; and they settled down to steady correspondence on the Irish Church. At the Prime Minister's request she interviewed a prelate on the Bill and did her best to promote negotiations with the Bench of Bishops. She was "much gratified & relieved by the conciliatory spirit" displayed by Mr. Gladstone; and the Bill continued to grind slowly through the customary processes of the legislative machine.

The milder matters of routine passed smoothly between Queen and Premier. His nightly letter reported the debates in Parliament ; the Crown Princess of Prussia desired a knighthood for the conductor at Covent Garden ; the growing insubordination of the Irish was deplored, though Mr. Gladstone argued bravely that " in proportion as measures of justice have heretofore been extended to Ireland, affection has been conciliated in those classes which felt the relief " ; and an Egyptian royal visit elicited a sturdy protest against costly displays of hospitality to oriental potentates with excessive suites. But General Grey broached graver matters, when he wrote to the Prime Minister about " the strong feeling excited by the Queen's continued seclusion." This loyal servant of the Crown, whose length of service permitted him a freedom of initiative unusual with royal Secretaries, " convinced that there is no other way to save us from great troubles," urged ministers to press the Queen for more public appearances. Returning to the subject, he concluded almost brutally that " all she says of the ' weight of work,' ' weakened health '—shattered nerves, &c.—has simply no effect whatever on me." Grey's devotion to the Crown could not be doubted. But Gladstone was more sympathetic and " disposed . . . to allow rather more than you do for reality in the Queen's ailments or risks of them." Himself more highly strung than many courtiers, he had " a strong sense of the weariness and shrinking of mind which the want of interruption in her work must produce, especially after she has stood for years and may look to stand for many more without anyone to fall back upon." For he could comprehend the solitude in which she plodded through the decorous minutiae of Court routine. But he pressed respectfully for a short prolongation of her stay in London and was rewarded by a prompt concession and the royal admission that " she has invariably found him most ready to enter into her

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views & to understand her feelings." Indeed, her gratitude was tangibly expressed in an endeavour to restrain the angry Churchmen in the House of Lords. The devoted
" Grey continued to urge Gladstone to increase the public demands upon the Queen, insisting that "the Queen is wonderfully well." But Gladstone was not yet
130 convinced, although he went so far as to put in a
131 plea for a royal opening of Blackfriars Bridge. This was rejected out of hand; and the Prime Minister
133 improved the occasion by a salutary letter on the value of public appearances as "among the substantial, and even in the long run indispensable means of maintaining the full influence of the Monarchy. For the maintenance of that influence it is Mr. Gladstone's duty to watch with the utmost jealousy: and he cannot dismiss from his mind the apprehension that, notwithstanding by the constant and exemplary, but unseen attention to business, it may by a silent and gradual process be somewhat impaired during Your Majesty's general withdrawal from visible and sensible contact with the people of your realms." General Grey could hardly wish the Prime Minister to put his point more plainly.

But there was another matter in which the Queen's convenience conformed with difficulty to her public duties. A taste for long retreats in distant health-resorts had grown upon her; the memories that hung so thickly round Balmoral drew her to the Highlands; and when she could not get so far, there was a constant tendency to seek retreat at Osborne. Sir William Jenner found hygienic reasons for the pursuit of purer air; and busy ministers were faced with the troublesome necessity for constant pilgrimages to Deeside or the Isle of Wight. An impending crisis with the House of Lords moved Gladstone to a
133 gentle hint that "the exertions, which Your Majesty's wisdom has spontaneously prompted, to avert a collision between the two Houses of Parliament, would carry yet

greater authority, had it happened that they could have been made on the spot." This was explicit, though it still fell short of Grey's hint that "*nothing* will have any effect, but a strong—even a *peremptory* tone." Gladstone was never peremptory with the Queen; but their prospects of continued harmony were slightly endangered by the necessity of argument about her personal arrangements. But when a royal Secretary of unquestionable devotion pointed the way, how could the Prime Minister avoid his duty?

The Irish crisis deepened; and the need for the Queen's presence at some point nearer to London than the Isle of Wight became imperative. The Dean was mobilised; but he got little beyond a tart rejoinder that "the Queen has had repeated Crises *there*, in the PRINCE'S *time*." Gladstone was most respectful—"The time of the Ministers is a matter of small importance in comparison with Your Majesty's comfort"—but he argued powerfully that the crisis was comparable in gravity with that of 1832 and that "if occasion should arise for steps of any kind to be taken outside the walls of Parliament, there should be time for them between the sitting of one day and the sitting of the next." This pointed to a highly uncongenial residence at Windsor; and the Queen yielded unwillingly as "an *entirely isolated* case," which "must NEVER be made a *precedent*." The incident was closed, and Mr. Gladstone had his way.

His success was notable, as the Queen even hinted that she might be able to face Blackfriars in November. The Irish Church still troubled her; Sir William Jenner still used the most alarming language on the subject of her health; and General Grey was almost stern with his royal mistress. She felt so lonely, and complained to Granville that "she had no friend left like the late Baron Stockmar." Her only consolation was that Gladstone seemed inclined to take a more reasonable line about

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149 the Church in "a very conciliatory speech, w^h is sure to
do great good." She had got off to Osborne now and was
150 feeling quite concerned about his health—"He ought to
take as much rest as he can—& later Scotch air is sure to
restore his strength." Then she escaped to it herself,
159 although its tonic qualities entirely failed to brace her
against a reasoned application for ten peerages and four-
teen baronetcies. The notion of a Rothschild peerage
162 profoundly shocked her—"It would be very ill taken &
would do the Gov^t great harm." Lord Granville, who
was at Balmoral, argued his very best; but she was quite
164 immovable—"she *cannot* consent to a Jew being made a
Peer—tho' she will not object to a *Jew* baronet." The
Catholics alarmed her, too: "the Pope was never so
powerful & the Queen is quite determined to do *all* in
her power to prevent this." But, her ultimatum duly
delivered, she roared with laughter at her dinner-table
165 and positively chaffed the tactful Granville upon "the
manner in which people *submitted* to her to do what
she did not wish to do, and not to do what she wished
to do." For asperities were sometimes softened in the
Highland air.

Gladstone came up to stay that autumn and found her
"very gracious." She was "exceedingly easy" with
him, and his parting audience was "very gracious and
kind." The Irish Church had been disposed of; and
there was room for hope that public affairs would be
permitted to run a less exciting course. But Blackfriars
Bridge still loomed in an uncomfortable future, and Mr.
173 Gladstone was inclined to be persistent about the Roth-
schild peerage. Blackfriars might be surmounted; but
175 "The Queen really cannot make up her mind" to ennoble
Sir Lionel de Rothschild. She could still be gracious
enough, when Gladstone made his own son a Lord of the
Treasury; and as the time drew near, she positively
176 "*hopes* nothing will prevent her going to open the
Blackfriars Bridge on Saturday." The dreaded day

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arrived, and "nothing c^{ld} go off better or more satisfactorily in *every possible way*." The Queen was well; the weather was correct; the crowds were most enthusiastic; and the Lord Mayor got his baronetcy. A rumour that the Admiralty proposed to cut down the crew of the royal yacht without reference to its royal owner was satisfactorily explained by Mr. Gladstone at impressive length. She was a shade uneasy about Ireland; but she seemed to view her ministers without major misgivings, Granville reporting that the royal doubts were confined to their Colonial policy and administrative economies—the former on the ground "that England was being reduced to the state of a second-rate power," and the latter for the more domestic reason that "it would be disadvantageous to the Sovereign if all places available for old Household servants were abolished." These minor doubts apart, she was not discontented with her ministers. Of course they had been trying about Blackfriars Bridge; but the dreaded ceremony had passed off extremely well. The troubled waters of the Irish Church lay behind them now; and there was some prospect of a smooth voyage, if only they could be persuaded to leave things alone. But Mr. Gladstone seemed a little restless, and her apprehension was expressed in a mild intimation that "she w^{ld} wish no important measures to be decided on without being duly submitted to her." His mind was busy, though she did not know it yet, with Irish Land; and he approached the problem with a grave conviction that "to this great country the state of Ireland after 700 years of our tutelage is in my opinion so long as it continues an intolerable disgrace, and a danger so absolutely transcending all others, that I call it the only real danger of the noble empire of the Queen." That conviction determined Gladstone's course for the next quarter of a century. But in 1870 the Queen felt less concern and sent her New Year greetings to the Prime Minister.

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They were soon worrying about the Irish Land Bill, although he was quite confident that "the Queen's own sympathies would be, not as last year, but in the same current as ours." There was a strong suggestion, too, that she should open Parliament. This was received with a succession of discouraging bulletins about her health, enquiries after Mr. Gladstone's cough, and the unpromising conclusion that "it is a very unwholesome year." The Irish Land Bill, when it came to hand, revealed an "apparent want of sympathy with the Landlords," which she found distasteful. But in spite of this defect (unhappily inherent in Land Bills) she was inclined to think that it was "founded on the right principle." As to a royal opening of Parliament, she could not face it, although "the Queen had *seriously* intended to try & make the effort." Gladstone replied with courteous regrets at "the loss of any opportunity of confirming . . . that conception of a direct relation between Your Majesty and the people at large, which must be reckoned as holding no mean place among the practical supports of the Monarchy." The Government, he felt, might with propriety announce that it had been her wish to open Parliament in person, but that her health had not permitted. The Queen concurred; and her good humour was displayed in hopes that "Mr. Gladstone is not over-tiring himself & that Mrs. Gladstone is quite well again." She even made repeated enquiries by telegraph after Mr. Bright.

A pamphlet about Women's Rights, which Mr. Gladstone sent, elicited a sturdy expression of her "strongest aversion for the *socalled* & *most erroneous* 'Rights of Woman'"; and she wrote to him at length about preferment for the Rev. Mr. Duckworth, who had been so good as tutor to Prince Leopold. The Prime Minister had not shown himself particularly helpful about a place

for Mr. Engleheart: that was the worst of ministers with an awkward passion for economy. But his tone was more promising about Mr. Duckworth. That year she lost the faithful (if occasionally somewhat too insistent) General Grey; and Colonel Ponsonby succeeded him as Private Secretary. The loss was serious, as Grey had struggled hard against her tendency to make herself a recluse, and his long service to the Crown lent weight to his opinions. Now she was likely to be more than ever mistress in her Household; and Mr. Gladstone's difficulties might be proportionately increased. Not that there was as yet the slightest diminution of her cordiality towards him; for Mrs. Gladstone and her daughter were invited to Windsor, and the Queen wrote in her most gracious manner that she "thinks Mr. Gladstone will not be displeased at her saying what a charming girl Agnes is." Then she was off to Osborne—this time without an argument about her plans.

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The recurrence of Mr. Mill's preposterous proposal to give the vote to women moved her to a commination on "the mad & utterly demoralizing movement of the present day to place women in the same position as to professions—as *men*;—& amongst others, in the *Medical Line*. . . . The Queen is a woman herself—& knows what an anomaly her *own* position is:—but that can be reconciled with reason & propriety tho' it is a terribly difficult & trying one. But to tear away all the barriers wh^h surround a woman, & to propose that they sh^d study with *men*—things wh^h c^d not be named before them—certainly not in a *mixed* audience . . ." this was unspeakable. The frightful vision "of allowing *young girls* & young men to *enter* the dissecting room together" shook her profoundly; and she was "determined for the *salvation* of the *young women* of this country—& their *rescue* from *immorality* to do *every* thing she *can* to put a check to it." Gladstone was deeply sympathetic and turned his grave attention to "the repulsive subject of any

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combination of men and women in the reception of some of the instruction absolutely necessary for the effective pursuit of the medical profession." Then they were off upon the minor, but recurring, topic of Mr. Ayrton. This gentleman was First Commissioner of Works, and his combination of sound Liberalism with extreme tactlessness caused endless difficulties. Unhappily his office brought him into contact with the Crown; and the

231 Queen pressed vigorously for a change in his Department. Gladstone was defensive; but whilst he parried her attacks, a change was operated in his Cabinet by an agency that was not susceptible to argument. For Lord Clarendon died in June, and a new Foreign Secretary must be found. His choice fell upon Granville; and the appointment was most congenial to the Queen, who viewed him

234 as "the *only really fit person* for that important post." Granville (whom his contemporaries sometimes knew as "Puss") was always tactful; he had been most obliging when she had her difficulties with Lord Palmerston; and he served Gladstone as an invaluable interpreter at Court. Not that she undervalued Gladstone, since that

" year she spoke to Granville "in the most kind and flattering manner about you, and the importance you were to her and to the State. She said she had hoped to see you in the Autumn, but that the one important point was to do that which was really most invigorating & resting to you." Their harmony was still unbroken, although she was now undertaking an increasing weight of public work. That summer there had been her Drawing Room, the new buildings of London University, the Windsor Association, Aldershot, and the Workmen's Exhibition. This was a notable advance upon the royal calendar of recent years; but she really dreaded the public opening of the Embankment. With Grey no longer at her elbow to

240 insist, Colonel Ponsonby wrote to excuse her. Gladstone was inclined to argue; but the Queen was firm, and her

249 inability to appear was duly intimated to the public.

But in those summer days the public mind was elsewhere, although Lord Granville had been assured by the Under-Secretary of State that he had never in his long experience known so great a lull in foreign affairs. The judicious Hammond had overlooked the fact that it was July, 1870; and at six o'clock that evening a telegram informed Lord Granville that Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen had accepted the throne of Spain. The Queen received the news in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet letter of July 9. The notion was by no means new to her, as the Crown Princess of Prussia had written to her on the subject four months earlier, when Lord Clarendon advised her to express no opinion on the matter and added sagely that "the proposed arrangement would produce an unfavourable impression in France." Lord Clarendon was right; and while the French protested violently, there was a half-hearted effort at mediation by Great Britain. Within a week the Paris streets were roaring "*à Berlin!*" and the Opera rang with the *Marseillaise*. But the Queen was strikingly unsympathetic, having "very strong feelings upon the subject of this conduct of the French. It is most preposterous and insulting to Spain, and a return to the ancient policy of France, which was so universally condemned." This brave echo of her letters from Berlin was hardly at variance with the world's opinion; but the world and Queen Victoria were both unaware that Bismarck meant to have his *casus belli*. When the war-cloud broke in thunder, her preoccupations were all for England; and she telegraphed for increased "efficiency in army and navy." Gladstone gave full assurances and added his conviction that, "whatever may be said of the prior conduct of Prussia, France has entirely failed to show in the circumstances of the present crisis, any adequate warrant for breaking the peace of Europe." So the Queen was not alone in her convictions. M. Ollivier's "*cœur léger*" shocked him profoundly; and he was

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busy safeguarding the neutrality of Belgium against both belligerents.

A minor subject of anxiety was the Princess of Wales, who was in Denmark ; the Prince must go and fetch her home ; but Gladstone impressed him with the expediency of " the shortest possible visit . . . also of an extreme reserve in regard to the expression of opinion on the causes of this miserable war." For the Prince had entertained unfavourable views of Prussia ever since that power violated his bride's country in 1864 ; and the Queen concurred in Gladstone's admonitions, adding that her son was " *very* imprudent, alas ! The Princess *very* violent in her anti-Prussian feelings." Her own were clear beyond all doubt, with " *United Germany most unjustifiably attacked, fighting for hearth & Home.*" She would be less than human to feel otherwise, since " *all her nearest & dearest & all she holds most dear next to her own beloved Country—will be in danger of life & home.*" A letter from her daughter at Potsdam repeated a malicious story that the Prince of Wales had " expressed his delight to Count Apponyi that the Austrians were going to join the French—and his hope that we should fare ill." The Prime Minister wrote gravely to the Prince, who contradicted the whole story.

But Bismarck soon provided them with graver matter by the publication of a draft treaty, in which the French appeared to have been quite prepared to annex Belgium and Luxemburg. This disreputable proposal had formed part of their unfortunate endeavours to secure compensation for the Prussian victories in 1866. Nothing had come of them ; but Benedetti had incautiously committed it to writing ; and the draft remained with Bismarck, to be produced at the due season as a shocking revelation of French depravity. Gladstone was not unduly shocked, but he resolved to leave no doubt in French or German minds as to the consequences of a violation of the Belgian frontier. Both belligerents were invited to reaffirm

the strict neutrality of Belgium ; British staff officers were sent to Antwerp ; and there was a Vote of Credit for the War Office. (In the turmoil of a world at war he found a moment to carry out the Queen's wishes on behalf of Mr. Duckworth, and that accomplished clergyman was duly installed in a suburban living.) As the armies drew together along the line of the French frontier, the Queen was agonised by her family anxieties. Her conviction that " Germany as a real & our natural ally would always be safe—*never aggressive* " was firmly rooted ; and Mr. Gladstone was deeply sympathetic with " the strain on Your Majesty's domestic affections." He even sent an article about King Leopold for her to read, together with a little book about the Passion Play at Oberammergau. The crashing impact of the French defeats in front of Metz impressed her as conveying " a *great moral*." But when the air began to fill with hints of peace negotiations after Sedan, she read her ministers a lesson on the danger of alienating Germany by an untimely mediation. Gladstone was in agreement, although he was disturbed by the prospect of an annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and even inclined to favour a joint *démarche* on the subject by the neutral Powers. The Queen retained her attitude of deep respect for " powerful united Germany " together with strong moral reprobation of the French—a " nation w^h, with but few exceptions seems to be entirely devoid of *truth*, & to live upon vanity, deception, amusement & self-glorification." The diagnosis was severe ; but the contrast between her splendid, bearded son-in-law and the frivolities of the Second Empire was almost unavoidable. Besides, the French obstinately refused to recognise the facts ; and as the guns began to boom in front of Paris, the Queen " fears there is no hope of an Armistice—for the French seem *quite mad* ! ! "

Even the war could not extinguish her normal interests—a pension for the worthy author of *The Gentle Life* (resisted by the Prime Minister on the ground that one

had been denied to Mr. Martin Tupper, who wrote even worse), the engagement of Princess Louise to a Scottish nobleman, and the appalling risks of railway travel, upon which Mr. Gladstone produced some reassuring figures. A proposed release of Fenian prisoners alarmed her; and she was genuinely grieved when Mr. Bright resigned. But the Queen was quite prepared to open Parliament in person; and as this would be followed by a royal wedding and the inauguration of the Albert Hall, 1871 would be a busy year.

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The intimation of her plans was received by Gladstone with sober rejoicing "in every act which, without prejudice to Your Majesty's health, tends to make the monarchy of this country, in Your Majesty's person, visible and palpable to the people." For his devotion to the Crown was quite undoubted. It was a time when many European minds tended to look questioningly upon thrones. A Queen of Spain in flight, an Emperor of the French in captivity, his Empress flitting from the Tuileries behind a veil and pitching through a Channel gale on board an English yacht to exile in a seaside hotel—there had been much in recent events to shake the sanctity of monarchy; and even English Radicals were subject to the general infection. For Continental models always exercise a morbid fascination upon British minds. Advanced politicians under George III, who might have been content to make a British protest against British grievances, delighted to sport tricolour sashes and, addressing one another as "Citizen," to masquerade as French *Conventionnels*; the jargon of a later International has something of the same attraction for weak-minded persons in our own day; and in the years succeeding 1870 it was the pleasure of home-made extremists to disguise themselves as Paris *Rouges* by infusing into the homely brew of Radicalism a stimulating dash of Repub-

lican sentiment. It made them feel so daring; the tamest speech about the Ballot grew almost exciting, if salted with a disrespectful reference to the Throne; and gentlemen who wished to seem advanced announced themselves as bold Republicans. Their views were normally conveyed in criticism of the cost of royal institutions. But Mr. Gladstone, though he was "the People's William" and a stern economist, lent them no countenance, assuring his anxious sovereign that she would have "no cause to complain of any want of explicitness or decision in the language which will be held by the Government in putting aside, and endeavouring to discredit what Your Majesty most justly describes as a vulgar error: an error venial in ignorant persons, but discreditable enough in those who mislead them." His Parliamentary statement earned him a telegram of royal gratitude :

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"Think your speech quite excellent it should be printed by itself as a valuable record of the subject."

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Her "admiration of his very clear & able Speech" was repeated by letter; and the Queen's confidence in his devotion to the Throne survived all their later disagreements.

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But the Queen was not the only member of the Royal Family; the Duke of Cambridge was Commander-in-Chief; and his peculiar position might be threatened by Mr. Cardwell's efforts to reform the Army. His royal cousin warned her ministers that he had been "most ungratefully & unjustly treated by a large portion of the Public who are totally ignorant of Military Matters," and was assured by Gladstone that the Duke's dignity would be safeguarded. A spiteful question alleging some communication with German Headquarters was firmly handled, and the Queen telegraphed approval of Gladstone's answer "which must have a good effect for the future." Beyond the Channel, where the guns had

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333 ceased, anarchy ruled Paris in the name of the Commune ;
but Mr. Gladstone gave a satisfactory answer about the
335 Republican activities of the dreaded Mr. Odger and was
rewarded by royal good wishes for his Easter holiday.

The Budget was impending now, and the Queen, who
sometimes had a sounder instinct for public feeling than
her ministers, expressed misgivings about Mr. Lowe's in-
340 tended tax on matches, which would "make no difference
in the consumption by the *rich*, but the *poorer classes* will
be *constantly* irritated by this increased expense and re-
minded of the tax by the Government stamp on the box."
Her prophecy was quite correct ; even Mr. Lowe's learned
witticism about "*lucus a non lucendo*" failed to com-
mend it ; and the tax was ultimately dropped. The
Army Bill had thrown Conservatives into transports of
opposition ; and though Gladstone was rarely ungenerous
to adversaries in his nightly letter to the Queen (he
342 could write of "Mr. Disraeli . . . particularly happy
and effective in the tone of banter which he frequently
employs"), he was moved to a stern comment on their
345 "sheer obstruction," confessing that in all his long
experience of class interests on their defence he had
never "seen a case where the modes of operation adopted
by the professing Champions were calculated to leave
such a painful impression on the mind." The Queen was
346 sympathetic and telegraphed that she was "sorry
to see the pertinacious opposition to the Army Bill. She
trusts however that it will soon be overcome." A hint that
some of its proposals might be dropped elicited a firm
348 statement of her "regret if you find it necessary to
abandon any essential portion of so important a measure"
and added her conviction that Purchase must be
abolished. She was still anxious about the Duke of
353 Cambridge, who must not be expected to make party
speeches in the House of Lords defending the proposed
354 reforms ; Gladstone explained at length that he would
be expected to do no more than the Duke of Wellington

had done, and that her cousin had agreed to dissipate a general belief that he was hostile to the scheme. A mischief-making question about the Crown Princess of Prussia was answered in terms which earned the Queen's complete approval—"She thought he answered most judiciously . . . & was g^{ty} shocked at the impertinent & vulgar article in yesterday's *Times*." Meanwhile the Army Bill was stranded in the House of Lords. The Government resolved to outflank them by a bold use of the royal prerogative ; the Queen was asked to sanction a new Warrant abolishing Purchase and "made no sort of difficulty." A Radical foray about the Queen's retirement enabled Gladstone to pay a public tribute to her increased activity and to round off his apologia with a happy statement "that it was the undiminished and ever warm affection of the country towards Your Majesty, which was the true source of whatever impatience it might be tempted to feel." A royal letter promptly conveyed her thanks "for his kind expressions & for his *defence* of her."

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But a mild suggestion that her annual migration to Scotland might be delayed until the House rose was less favourably received. The Prime Minister's enquiry had been accompanied by an illuminating hint of "the difference between the humour (so to call it) now existing, and that which has prevailed on other occasions." The House of Commons, he explained, was overworked and irritable ; there was the further irritant of "the excitement due to events abroad" ; and he appealed with confidence to "the grace and condescension which are both natural and habitual to Your Majesty." The appeal was vain, since she was in her least yielding mood. Conscious of having done her duty in the course of an exceptionally busy season, she insisted on her perfect right to go to Scotland, even if it meant that ministers would have to follow her a few days later for the formalities of a Privy Council :

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"The Queen has seen from long experience that the more she yields to pressure & clamour where it is not for an important Political purpose, that it only encourages further demands. The Queen feels sure that if she goes beyond a certain limit now, she will be teased & tormented every year. . . . If there was a great important question to be decided the Queen would not hesitate in sacrificing her convenience, tho' she might not be able to do so for her health ; but where it is merely to gratify a fancy of the troublesome House of Commons, especially when it is their fault that Parliament has lasted so long—she must say she thinks it very unwise to yield beyond a certain point.

"She has been so much abused & attacked by the infamous newspapers that she cannot well be more. The Queen is feeling extremely unwell & if this heat lasts, every day she loses in getting to Scotland will add to this. . . ."

She was prepared to yield three days and no more, insisting on "a firm high tone of reproof as to the interference with the Queen's personal acts & movements which have now been called in question for the 4th time this year." Questions in Parliament annoyed her beyond all bearing ; and "the Queen will not remain where she is, worked & worried and worn, if she is to become the Servant of Parliament and to be responsible to them for all she does ! This must be stopped." Ministers must really tell their tiresome questioners that she "cannot undertake any night work . . . nor any residence in London beyond 2 or 3 days." Eloquence grew on her with self-pity, and she closed upon a note of sombre presage :

"What killed her beloved Husband ? Overwork & worry—what killed Lord Clarendon ? The same. What has broken down Mr. Bright & Mr. Childers &

made them retire, but the same ; & the Queen, a woman, no longer young is supposed to be proof against all . . .

" She must solemnly repeat that unless her ministers support her & state the whole truth she cannot go on & must give her heavy burden up to younger hands.

" Perhaps then those discontented people may regret that they broke her down when she might still have been of use."

A second letter in the same excited strain insisted that " *No earthly political object can be gained by her remaining a week longer, except gratifying a foolish & unreasonable fancy* " ; and when ministers turned to her medical adviser, they got little help, since Jenner (as Gladstone wrote despairingly to Granville) thought it " his duty to look simply at what is desirable in the highest degree for the Queen's health, and to decline taking into consideration how far this can be abated or departed from in deference to the great exigencies of the British Throne. . . . He does that, which if my doctor did for me, I should, however much against my will, be *compelled* to seek another." There was no one about her now who could put gentle pressure on her ; General Grey's ascendancy was sadly missed ; and when Mr. Helps attempted something in the same line, he was repulsed with heavy loss, the royal pen informing him that his suggestion " has not displeased her. . . . But it *has greatly surprised her*." The Prime Minister repeated their request a little helplessly ; but she was obdurate, and the royal train steamed North.

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The incident left traces upon both correspondents. Gladstone was deeply pained, and his resentment was expressed to Ponsonby :

" We have done all we can. She will decide. Of course, if challenged, I shall take the responsibility. But this shield will not wear very long. The whole

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business is one of the most deplorable I have ever known. . . ."

More inclined than many of his generation to take nerves seriously, he wrote that "the woes of fancy are as real in their consequences as, and far more truly formidable than, the most fearful dispensations of Providence." But this exhibition of the royal nerves had pained him deeply; and when Ponsonby dropped a revealing hint that his royal mistress had supposed that she was being used to serve a party end, his indignation was profound :

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"I am surprised and sorry, that the Queen should think that we have had really in our minds, during this deplorable business, the benefit of the Government, an idea which I believe has never occurred to any of us. . . . I do not for a moment doubt the reality of the consequences which are due to so truly wretched a cause.

"Upon the whole I think it has been the most sickening piece of experience which I have had during near forty years of public life.

"*Worse* things may easily be imagined : but smaller and meaner cause for the decay of Thrones cannot be conceived. It is like the worm which bores the bark of a noble oak tree and so breaks the channel of its life."

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A fervent monarchist, Gladstone was determined to protect the Throne against the current outcry. He gravely scrutinised the Press for symptoms, writing that year to Mrs. Gladstone of "fresh evidence on the painful subject of the feeling as to the Monarchy. Things are certainly on the road to the bad; but I hope they may be arrested—the foundations are deep and the walls strong. . . . Will Stephen kindly send me his last *Spectator*, or cut out the article in which the Monarchy and loss of social influence are referred to?" He meant to stand between

such critics and the Throne; but it was a little bitter when its occupant declined to help.

The episode left traces on the Queen as well. Her health was far from satisfactory; but it was a little ominous, when the Prime Minister arrived at Balmoral, that for some days she did not feel well enough to see him. Jenner regaled him with the usual jeremiad on the royal health; but the Prince of Wales and Princess Alice were both of Gladstone's opinion and "very sensible of the mischief." He had his audience at last; and when it came, the change in her was unmistakable. For that uneasy interview marked a new stage in his relations with the Queen. His reading of it was quite distinct :

"The repellent power which she so well knows how to use has been put in action towards me on this occasion for the first time since the formation of the Government. I have felt myself on a new and different footing with her."

Gladstone was quick to note the change. A chapter ended, and their harmony was over now.

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IV DIVERGENCE

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THEY had begun to drift apart. The drift was unmistakable, although the causes in September, 1871, were slightly obscure. The Queen's health counted for a good deal ; and it was unfortunate that Gladstone had been forced by circumstances to make demands upon her time when she was feeling far from well. Sir William Jenner did nothing to encourage her to further efforts ; and General Grey, who always urged her on, had been removed. Her ministers seemed to the Queen to allow the public to form unreasonable expectations of her activity and appeared reluctant to explain the grave objections. That, at any rate, was Gladstone's diagnosis of the royal feelings.

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" No doubt she considers it an offence, at least so far as I am concerned, that Parliament was not told authoritatively that she could never be for more than 3 days in London and the like. . . .

" On account of her natural and constant kindness as well as her position, I am grieved ; and this much the more because of what is to come. For the question gathers in gravity. . . . And an instinct tells me, that much will have to be said about it ere long ; more probably with reference to putting forward the Prince of Wales, than to forcing duty upon her against which she sets herself with such vehemence and tenacity."

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His tone was grave ; and when Disraeli added to their difficulties by an elaborate discourse upon the royal burdens, Gladstone commented grimly that " that speech

of Dizzy's savours of his usual flunkeyism. Its natural operation will be to increase her bias against visible public duties ; and as a measure of defence for her it is quite needless as there is now no voice of criticism to be heard. Besides, he says what is in some points absurdly untrue. The bulk of Her Majesty's official work is certainly not large." His own loyalty to royal institutions was quite unshaken ; but his personal devotion had been sadly strained.

He left Balmoral with a sincere expression of good wishes for the Queen's complete recovery ; and Ponsonby reported that, although Granville was out of favour, his mistress had (surprisingly) been " very much pleased " with Mr. Gladstone's visit. A speech by Sir Charles Dilke at Newcastle moved her to suggest a more emphatic repudiation of Republican opinions ; and the Prime Minister replied at length with a judicious exposition of the best tactics for loyalists. But that autumn they were interrupted by the grave illness of the Prince of Wales, though the discussion of how best to defend the monarchy continued. As the Prince hung between life and death at Sandringham, the Queen was agonised by the recurrence of her dreaded anniversaries, of those December dates that rang in her ears with the echoes of her own bereavement. Gladstone was deeply sympathetic, and the Queen was grateful for his letters. Then the Prince recovered, and they passed to the more pleasing theme of honours for the royal physicians and a national Thanksgiving, the Prime Minister reporting that Mr. Duckworth had preached an admirable sermon, as well as Mr. Kingsley, although the latter's was " perhaps a little broad in its applications to Sanitary reform and otherwise."

As the Prince struggled back to health, official minds were busy with his future. The topic was not raised by Gladstone, whose first intimation came from Ponsonby in a paper enclosing " a noteworthy letter by young Knollys." There had been previous attempts to find

113 employment for the Prince, mainly in Ireland ; but the
Queen was uniformly unsympathetic. The field was now
exhaustively surveyed, and Gladstone entered fully into
404 Ponsonby's anxieties. It was, he felt, " hardly possible
for the Prince to make a worthy pursuit out of philan-
thropy ; I do not mean one worthy in itself, but of
adequate magnitude. . . . we should seek to give him
a central aim and purpose, which may, tho' without ab-
sorbing all his time, gradually mould his mind, and colour
his life. It must be worthy not only of a man, but of *the*
man who is Prince of Wales, and heir to the British
406 Throne." Ponsonby was anxious to see the Prince " at
the head or in the ranks of the Sanitary Reformers " ;
then there was the Aldershot command and the Foreign
Office despatches ; or he might go to Ireland. Gladstone
suggested that there might be something to be done on
the social side. There was no " social head " at present ;
and he was gravely convinced that, since the Queen's
404 retirement, " Society has suffered fearfully in moral tone
from the absence of a pure Court." Not that the Court
lacked purity ; but, in effect, there was for social pur-
poses no Court at all. It might be possible to reconstruct
one round the Prince of Wales, and there was a vague
407 notion of installing him in Buckingham Palace to " assume
the lead of Society." But there were further difficulties ;
and the year went out on their discussions.

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A more immediate topic than the Prince's future en-
gaged them in the first weeks of 1872. For there was the
Prince's Thanksgiving to be thought of. The Queen was
quite prepared to make the effort of attending it ; and
411 in these happy circumstances she was exempted from the
tiresome necessity of opening Parliament in person. She
413 even volunteered to hold a Court in the same week. In-
deed, her energy was mounting, since she now proposed
to " run across to Baden " *incognita* and visit a relation.

Gladstone felt some misgivings as to "the effect which might be produced on the public mind by Your Majesty's absence from the country during the very important portion of the Session of Parliament." The royal tendency to hibernate at Osborne caused enough comment; Balmoral called for more explanation; but if his mistress were spirited away to Baden, even Mr. Gladstone's powers of explanation might fail to satisfy indignant Radicals. She was prepared to meet him by confining her absence almost within the limits of the Easter Recess; but she insisted on the expedition. He made no attempt to thwart her in this cherished project and even announced himself as "glad to watch for & promote an opportunity for giving it effect."

Meanwhile, there was the Thanksgiving. An endless interchange of letters covered every imaginable aspect of this historic function—the religious service, the troops along the streets, the route, the royal carriages. There was some difficulty about the last, as the Prince and Princess of Wales were inclined to favour a carriage to themselves, while the Cabinet concurred in the Queen's preference for driving with her heir; and then the seating in the royal carriage raised questions of unusual delicacy. These problems of deportment were a welcome interruption to the Prime Minister's deliberations on the *Alabama* award. Next, the Government's announcement of the Queen's intention to attend the Thanksgiving taxed his drafting powers to the utmost, as she conceived that a too positive announcement might appear to minimise "her own *severe* illness wh^h seems to be entirely forgotten . . . she demands that from her Ministers wh^h she has a right to expect." (The tone was more metallic than any Gladstone had been used to, a sharp reminder of the "new and different footing" upon which he stood.) But whatever uncertainties beset her about driving to St. Paul's, she felt none about a crossing from Portsmouth to Cherbourg, a rapid journey "straight thro' France

stopping *nowhere*," and a prompt detrainment at Baden. The great day came at last. It left the Queen a little
435 tired, but happy in "the pleasing & gratifying recollection" of the roaring streets; she wrote her thanks for
437 publication; and the cheers receded.

Two days later a weak-minded youth named O'Connor achieved notoriety by an assault upon the Queen. Always methodical, she searched the pages of her Journal
440 for a record of the last attempt, sent the Prime Minister a copy, and argued that excessive leniency would have a bad effect. When Gladstone saw her afterwards, he was
115 relieved to find her "in an excellent frame and quite serene." She might be stiffer with him than of old; but his loyalty was undiminished, the Prime Minister recording
116 in a grateful diary his delight "to see how fond she appears to be of Catherine," and his deep admiration of her manner of receiving notabilities at Court—"it is a work of art that she performs." The theme of occupation for the Prince of Wales recurred between them with an authoritative statement of the difficulties inherent in employing him in Ireland. Neither he nor his mother cared for the idea; and the Prince's preference, it seemed, was for attachment in some form to a succession of Government Departments in order that he might learn something of their work. The critics of the Crown, though weak in numbers, were vocal in the House of Commons; but a motion by Sir Charles Dilke on the Civil List passed off without misadventure; and the Queen escaped to Baden.

Refreshed by these peregrinations, she returned with
452 vigour to the current topics. O'Connor had been let off
456 far too lightly; Mr. Gladstone thought so too; and they were in full agreement, when the judge that tried the case gave unquestionable proof of judicial eccentricity by
457 sentencing a petty thief to three years' imprisonment while valuing the crime of pushing a wife under a brewer's dray at three months. The Queen's objections to a

minor Government appointment were respected, and a post was found at last for Mr. Engleheart. Indeed, the reign of harmony seemed to reopen with her gracious offer to the Prime Minister of a house in his own constituency at Blackheath. But once more they approached the dangerous ground of finding occupation for the Prince of Wales. Gladstone was earnest on the need of something really adequate to meet the case, favouring occasional attendance at the Indian Council, autumn manœuvres, and a selection of the Foreign Office despatches. But these were mere *hors d'œuvre*, and his main proposal was the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland and the residence of the Prince of Wales in Dublin for four or five months out of every year as the Queen's representative. This expedient, he hoped, would gratify the Irish, whilst affording some opportunity of instructing the Prince in the mysteries of government. Gladstone could "hardly find words to express his sense of the weight of the social and visible functions of the Monarchy, or of their vast importance alike to the social well being of the country, and to the stability of the Throne. It was Your Majesty who, by over 20 years of indefatigable practice, raised in those most important matters so high a standard. . . . Mr. Gladstone is anxious in the highest degree that the fund of strength and credit which Your Majesty stored up for the Monarchy in the affections of the people, should not be diminished." This tribute was discreetly followed by a hint that the Prince and Princess of Wales might be called upon to aid her in "the visible duties of the Monarchy," a task in which their prestige would be raised by the performance of real duties in Ireland. The Queen was not impressed. The Irish facet of the scheme struck her as an attempt to make an end of Dublin Castle and to use the Prince as an excuse, while the proposal to call in her heir in order to relieve her of a portion of her public work elicited an admonition that "Mr. Gladstone should remember that

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The Queen does her utmost to fulfil all these duties as far as her health will permit. The Queen holds drawing rooms and councils, gives audiences, entertains at morning parties and receives many persons at dinner, leaving to the Prince of Wales the Levees, Balls and Concerts so that in point of fact this proposal is anticipated." As for the young couple's moral influence, upon which Mr. Gladstone had laid some stress, they could already exercise it, if they chose; and the Prime Minister was bluntly told that it was "a question which more properly concerns herself to settle with the members of her family as occasion may arise." But Gladstone was not easily discouraged. A memorandum was composed with "much pain as well as labour." Lord Granville had advised it; and Mrs. Gladstone "reviewed it and suggested some useful softening changes." Then the Prime Minister sent it off with the happy consciousness of "an act of duty done upon much reflection. God prosper it!" A covering letter, returning bravely to the charge, restated his proposals in a valedictory tone: "His own career, such as it has been, is very near its close. . . . His humble observations are prompted by the desire that nothing of what Your Majesty has done for the country may be impaired or lost, and that as the former, so the latter portion of Your Majesty's reign may be marked by a constant growth of the strength and splendour of your great inheritance." The memorandum followed, in which the Queen's objections were disposed of with faultless dialectic. That was the worst of Mr. Gladstone: he was so difficult to answer. So the Queen vanished, like a Homeric goddess, into a cloud. She had her doubts about the scheme—she should consult the Prince—and Mr. Gladstone might consult anyone he liked. She saw the Prince, to whom the prospect of a residence in Dublin made no appeal; he was still anxious for some form of attachment to the Departments and for a seat on the Indian Council. But the Queen's hope "that this plan may now be

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considered as *definitely* abandoned" was sadly disappointed, as Mr. Gladstone was still full of arguments in favour of it. Indeed, he found himself wholly unable to devise another and continued to descant upon the benefits to be derived from an apprenticeship in government at Dublin Castle. A royal gesture ended the debate with a brief intimation that she "thinks it useless to prolong the discussion on this proposal & must repeat her hope that Mr. Gladstone after consulting such of his Colleagues who best know the Prince of Wales, will be able to mature some other plan of employment either in connection with the Indian Office or some other Department of the Govt."

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Gladstone was quick to recognise that disagreement with the Queen upon such a major point of dynastic policy must lead to further deterioration in their official harmony; and after stating with grave dignity "with how much grief he finds his views to be so unequivocally disapproved by Your Majesty on a matter of so much importance," he dropped the subject and presumed that in the circumstances the Queen would not require his presence at Balmoral that autumn. The Queen reaffirmed her disagreement almost apologetically and would have been very glad to see him at Balmoral but, in the absence of anything special to say to him, "hardly likes to urge Mr. Gladstone to put himself to the inconvenience & fatigue of coming over." His anticipation of a drop in the royal temperature was correct; for when they met at Windsor, the conversation was protracted and the Queen's manner "as usual kind and pleasing"; but the Prime Minister recorded ruefully that "the whole helped to show me yet more that the occurrences and correspondence of this year have led and will lead her to 'shut up' (so to speak) towards me."

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The over-zealous Mr. Ayrton had been giving further trouble, and "to few, probably, has he given more trouble than to Mr. Gladstone. . . . Mr. Gladstone

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is indeed himself reputed to be a person singularly subject to illusions: but he is quite sure that he has no illusions with respect to Mr. Ayrton." There was a mild recurrence of the topic of the Prince, with some notion of a course of reading for him. Gladstone
497 guessed shrewdly that his "turn appears to move towards that kind of training which is acquired by oral intercourse and by active life"; and the Queen confirmed the impression that he "has *never* been fond of
499 reading & that from his earliest years it was *impossible* to get him to do so." A shy but frigid harmony resumed between them, Gladstone expressing satisfaction at a
500 royal undertaking to open Parliament in alternate years—promptly amended by the sovereign to "every 3d
501 or 4th year." Aware that pressure would be useless, the Prime Minister refrained; a letter from the Crown upon the possibilities of royal residence in Ireland left him
505 unmoved, "as he has already fully stated his views on this important subject"; and 1872 went out upon a rather cheerless prospect.

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The Government entered upon the fifth year of its life; and at such stages in the life of Governments a diminution of popularity is almost as inevitable as physical defects in ageing men. Besides, the Government had been extremely active; and active Governments are always the first to lose their popularity. The Irish Church, Army Purchase, Irish Land, and the Ballot were a crowded record of achievement; but the public is a little apt to tire, and it began to crave for something that would be a shade more restful. Besides, a good proportion of these benefactions had been conferred on Ireland; and English gratitude is rarely stirred by Irish services.
119 Disraeli's celebrated sneer was uttered: "As I sat opposite the Treasury Bench the Ministers reminded me of one of those marine landscapes not very unusual on

the coasts of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest . . ." and even Gladstone had written ominously to the Queen that "the Government has already subsisted through an average length of time."

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A problem of some delicacy faced them when Napoleon III died at Chislehurst. The Foreign Secretary wrote in considerable apprehension that "the Queen and the Prince of Wales had determined that he and all the Royal Family should attend the funeral of the Emperor. She desires to pay respect to fallen greatness and to a person who had been very kind to most members of the royal family." This impulse was embarrassing, as France was a Republic, and there was sure to be a Bonapartist demonstration at the funeral, with which the royal mourners would be awkwardly identified. But fortunately Granville found that the funeral of Louis Philippe had not been attended by the Royal Family, and the impending danger was averted.

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This time she would not open Parliament and called almost sharply for the text of the new Irish Education Bill. Its prospects were uncertain; and though the Queen "much regrets the difficulties which have so unexpectedly arisen & still hopes that the Govt will have such a majority as will enable them to go on," she asked almost eagerly "what w^{ld} Mr. Gladstone call a too small majority?" He answered grimly that they would go on "with any majority however small" and received with becoming humility a royal caution against giving way to "natural annoyance and disappointment." But he was looking forward to the end of his life's task and expressed a hope that "an honourable path would be opened for his retirement." The path was duly opened by the House of Commons. The Government was beaten, and the Prime Minister resigned. But unhappily Disraeli did not see his way to take his place; for a prolongation of the Government's inglorious existence

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121 was more likely to be followed by a sweeping Opposition triumph at the next election. There was a flurried interval of Palace interviews ; and Disraeli's skilful handling of the cards did nothing to heighten Gladstone's esteem for his great competitor, since he wrote with marked distaste to Granville of " the artful dodger." So the Prime Minister was bound once more on the official wheel ; and it revolved with the diminishing velocity of a failing Government.

543 The royal courtesy was still unchanging ; his health was still an object of the Queen's solicitude ; but they avoided dangerous subjects, and possibly the half-seen prospect of an early parting eased their relations. Now there was nothing much for them to disagree about ; and they could share the joke when a Persian dignitary told him that " the name of Lord Palmerston is remembered in Persia as associated with a sense of apprehension." She was most sympathetic, when the Cabinet got into further difficulties that summer, and Mr. Gladstone was compelled to become his own Chancellor of the Exchequer—an added burden for which the loss of Mr. Ayrton was some consolation. There was the usual difficulty over Mr. Ayrton, since it was proposed to move him from the Board of Works to the office of Judge Advocate-General, which involved some degree of personal contact with the Crown. The Crown demurred ; and it was ultimately arranged that its dealings with the unpleasing functionary should be confined to writing. When Gladstone wrote announcing a daughter's engagement, the royal tone could not have been more charming ; and the arrival of an Indian shawl for " a playfellow of our eldest girls " 574 575 completed his felicity. He found himself back once more at Balmoral in the autumn ; and Granville reported that 122 123 his royal hostess " had never known you so remarkably agreeable." But the honeymoon was not of long duration, as there were difficulties about the holding of a Privy Council before the year was out.

Not that the Queen always made difficulties for Mr. Gladstone, since she overlooked one opportunity most graciously. When Agnes Gladstone married the Rev. Mr. Wickham, the bride's father made a speech: that was, perhaps, to be expected. But as he made it to a small company of relatives and neighbours at Hawarden Rectory, he might reasonably anticipate that it would get no further, since it was 1873, when Prime Ministers had private lives. But he was horrified to find it in the newspapers; and as his speech contained a reference to the royal wedding gift, he wrote hastily to apologise for this horrifying breach of decorum which "must read like a piece of Pharisaism and vulgarity; and though his intention was simply to point his acknowledgment of the kindness of the poor and lowly by reference to Your Majesty's kindness, he now humbly apologises to Your Majesty for that which being published bears in his opinion an unseemly aspect." The royal balm was swift and healing, the Queen finding "nothing in his Speech on the occasion of the late interesting family event at Hawarden to wh^{ch} she c^{ld} take the v^y *slightest* exception." Indeed, her deepest sympathy was offered for this unauthorised disclosure, since "she *does* think it v^y hard & v^y wrong that a family *party* of a comparatively private nature sh^{ld} have every detail published in the Papers." Was there a hint of irony?

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Their correspondence for 1874 opened with a brisk suggestion by the Queen that it might be as well if steps were taken to secure that future heads of departments in the War Office should be congenial to the Duke of Cambridge as well as to the Secretary of State. The Prime Minister's reply was guarded; but he used more freedom, when the Queen complained of "the progress of these alarming romanizing observances" and emphasised "the importance of avoiding any important Appointments

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& Preferments in the Church *wh* have ANY leaning that way. . . . Protestant to the very *heart's core* as the Queen is—she is shocked & grieved to see England forgetting her position & the higher classes & so many of the young Clergy tainted with this leaning towards Rome!" Besides, she could not conceal from herself that Mr. Gladstone "is *supposed* to have *rather* a bias towards High Church views himself—but the danger of *wh* she feels sure he cannot fail to recognise." The challenge was accepted cheerfully, with Gladstone's "thanks for the very mild and circumspect terms of the allusion to himself." But as he was "from time to time denounced, in some quarters, as a Ritualist, as a Papist, and also as a Rationalist," it left him calm. He was serenely conscious that his ecclesiastical appointments had not been governed "by so poor and unworthy a standard as his own impressions or belief in religion"; as for his own belief, he still retained "what he cherishes as the first of earthly blessings, his mental freedom." But there was not the slightest need for the Queen to suppose the Church in danger; he quoted conclusive utterances of Dr. Döllinger and several Bishops on the subject and left his sovereign convinced that, incontrovertible on most themes, it was more than usually injudicious to challenge Mr. Gladstone on religious matters.

But more immediate business than the Church engaged them, since he had indicated that the Cabinet would be very shortly called upon to advise a Dissolution. The Queen concurred with a degree of readiness that almost suggested a royal interest in the result of the elections. But she was solicitous about his health and at pains to save him an exhausting journey from Downing Street to Osborne and back within the day. Then the General Election was on them, and Tories swept the board. Gladstone gave the Queen an early warning of the impending change of Government; her answer was polite. But when he seemed to take the view that he had

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better follow precedent and stay in office until they were formally dismissed by the new House of Commons, she showed a touch of impatience. It seemed to her, " whatever advantage there may be in adhering to usage & precedent, that it is counterbalanced by the disadvantage of nearly 3 weeks delay, for the Country & the public Service." Besides, had he forgotten that the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh would be arriving almost simultaneously with the meeting of Parliament? It would be quite impossible for the Queen to entertain the young couple and to do all the work consequent upon a change of Government at the same time: " People are apt to forget, as she told Mr. Gladstone the other day, that the Queen is a woman. . . ." A final sentence coldly informed the outgoing Prime Minister that the Queen " will prefer not giving her opinion on the proposed honours till Mr. Gladstone can put all these before her, wh^h he intends to do."

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It was a chilling farewell. Small wonder that he noted in his diary " a letter from the Queen which seemed to me to be of scant kindness "; and it was scarcely redeemed by the offer of a peerage that he did not want. The formalities were quickly over; the final audience was " very kind," but " limited " in the subjects of conversation; and Disraeli ruled in his place.

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Gladstone in Opposition saw extremely little of the Queen. There was a scattered correspondence with her Private Secretary; but the royal pen was rarely used for Mr. Gladstone. When he congratulated her on family events, he was thanked by General Ponsonby; and the same kindly hand acknowledged presentation copies of his writings or sent him those of Mr. Martin. Indeed, upon the rare occasions of their meeting, the royal manner seemed constrained. When the Gladstones dined and slept at Windsor in 1875, he found their

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125 hostess "kind as usual, but evidently under restraint
with me"; and as he made his reverence at the Levee
126 in 1877, she "smiled but had not a word."

For she was worlds away from Mr. Gladstone now, in the strange fairyland where a romantic Prime Minister played skilfully on her emotions with excited letters from the Treasury Bench, that made a dull debate sound like a tournament reported to the Queen of Beauty by her Unknown Knight. He was so chivalrous on her behalf; accustomed all her life to survey the movements of her troops, the navigation of her ships, she was learning now to view public business as a succession of reckless onslaughts upon her beleaguered Government gallantly repelled by a band of faithful ministers. This dramatic version of Parliamentary life informed her mind; and she began to view an enemy of the Queen's ministers almost as though he were an enemy of the Queen. Apart from this, her arguments with Mr. Gladstone had made him an object of some apprehension; and when he presently announced that he intended to withdraw from public life, she received the news with almost unconcealed relief. The news was scarcely a surprise, as he had already confided to her that "he has the strongest opinion . . . against spending old age under the strain of that perpetual contention which is inseparable from his present position." His main activity since his
127 defeat had been in the direction of "snapping the ties and winding out of the coil"; and when his preparations
30 for "an interval between parliament and the grave" were quite complete, he took a solemn farewell of the Queen. His humble duty was submitted, "perhaps for the last time"; his gratitude "for all the marks of kindness and goodness" was patiently rehearsed; and he assured his sovereign that he should always render Parliamentary service to her throne, family, or person. A postscript added that he was profoundly shocked by the publication of the *Greville Journals*. The royal
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answer was, perhaps, an incomplete acknowledgment of forty years in public life :

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" The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for communicating to her his resolution of retiring from the more active duties of Parliamentary life for which she was not entirely unprepared after what he told her himself last year.

" She knows that his zeal & untiring energy have always been exerted with the desire of advancing the welfare of the Nation & maintaining the honor of the Crown, and she thanks him for his loyal assurances of support on all occasions when it may become necessary."

She passed on to endorse his comment on " that horrible book " and its striking contrast with Mr. Martin's publication on " her dear Husband's Life, so pure & bright." That was her somewhat perfunctory farewell to " the People's William."

But was it? For his ghost still walked. It had a tendency to send her pamphlets about *Vaticanism* and articles on the Prince Consort and copies of his letters to the newspapers, all duly acknowledged by General Ponsonby. There was one pamphlet in particular (it was called *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*) which struck Ponsonby as " excellent, and while encouraging the just indignation of all classes, gives a lead which I imagine will be followed." " The Queen," he wrote, " has not ceased expressing her horror at what she heard (at first only in hints in the despatches) ever since the end of June." But the Queen's minister was less easily perturbed. At first Disraeli talked airily of " coffee-house babble." But Gladstone thundered on, campaigning strenuously up and down the country in complete and innocent oblivion of his own retirement, until Lord Beaconsfield uttered his angry snarl about " a

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sophisticated rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity." The inebriation spread from Hawarden to Westminster, from Westminster to Midlothian, and from Midlothian back again to Westminster in the great Liberal majority of 1880. Then Lord Beaconsfield was out; and there was not the slightest doubt that Gladstone—at first single-handed, and later gathering reluctant Whigs and eager Radicals—had put him there, had roused the country, won the General Election, and was by rights the next Prime Minister. What would the Queen do now?

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COLONIAL SECRETARY, 1845-6

1 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET, *December 27, 1845.*

Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has to convey to Your Majesty his desire, with Your Majesty's authority, to propose to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, that he should succeed Lord Metcalfe as Governor-General of Canada.

It is submitted to Your Majesty, that Lord Fitzroy Somerset is marked out as a person peculiarly fitted for that responsible charge, by his temper, judgment, long experience, and extended and successful intercourse with men in the discharge of the duties attaching to various and important appointments, at home and abroad, under successive Sovereigns : as also, that in the present posture of the relations between the British Crown and the United States of America there may be decided advantage, even with a view to the maintenance of peace, in the selection of a Governor General who combines with eminent civil qualifications high military rank and character.

Mr. William Gladstone has ascertained by direct inquiry, that Lord Metcalfe is strongly of that opinion : and he submits the present suggestion to Your Majesty with the knowledge of Sir Robert Peel,¹ and after having obtained from the Duke of Wellington² a pointed testimony³ to the capacity of Lord Fitzroy Somerset for any high office in which sterling qualities are required.

¹ Prime Minister.

² Commander-in-Chief.

³ *The Duke of Wellington to Mr. Gladstone*

STRATFIELD SAYE. *Dec. 25, 1845.*

Secret

. . . It cannot be doubted that Lieutenant-General Lord Fitz Roy Somerset is an officer of great Military experience ; and a Man of experience in publick Affairs of all descriptions : He was my Military Secretary during the whole of the late War in the Peninsula ; and in Flanders ; He was afterwards Secretary of the Embassy when I was Ambassador at Paris ; and had charge of the Embassy during my absence at the Congress of Vienna : He was Secretary of the Embassy to the Congress of Verona ; and was subsequently employed as Minister Plenipotentiary on a Special Mission to Madrid :

He was Secretary to the Master General of the Ordnance for some years.

He has been Secretary to the Commander in Chief and to the General Command-

But Lord Fitzroy Somerset's acceptance necessarily remains uncertain, as Mr. William Gladstone has postponed any communication with him, until Your Majesty shall have been pleased to make known Your gracious approval of the choice.

2 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec: 29. 1845.

The Queen has just rec: Mr. Gladstone's letter recommending Lord Fitzroy Somerset as a fit Successor to Lord Metcalfe in Canada.—

The Queen has a high opinion of Lord Fitzroy Somerset & authorises Mr. Gladstone to make the offer to him, which she hopes will be attended with success.¹

3 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

COLONIAL OFFICE. February 23, 1846.

Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and prays that he may be honoured with Your Majesty's permission to give directions that the guns may be fired, in the

ing the Army in Chief at the Horse Guards for nearly 20 years; and has given satisfaction not only to the general officers under whom he has been employed; but to all the servants of the Sovereign in relation with whom he has transacted business during that period.

He has been a Member of the House of Commons; and has sat in Parliament. Being a Man of Education, Manners and good Temper; he cannot but be qualified by experience and knowledge to fill any office in which the Services of a Man with such qualities can be required.

There can be no doubt that his Services are greatly required and the loss of these will be felt in the Office which he now fills; particularly as it appears that the time is approaching, at which it will be necessary to render the Military establishments of the country more efficient.

But I shall be responsible for the Performance of these duties, and I will make every effort that arrangements may be made to fill the important office which Lord Fitz Roy Somerset will vacate; and to secure the performance of the duty in such manner as to satisfy Her Majesty's Servants and to secure the Publick Interests; if it should be considered desirable to employ the services of Lord Fitz Roy Somerset in a higher or more prominent and distinguished situation under the Government and one involving the Holder in more important responsibilities.

Lord Fitz Roy Somerset is now of a Rank in the Military Service, and of an Age to be liable to be called upon to fill such a situation; and I certainly will not allow my feelings in relation to my personal convenience to urge any objection to his being so employed.

¹ The appointment was not accepted.

usual manner, in order to celebrate the victories with which Your Majesty's arms have recently been blessed at Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur.¹

4 *The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *Febr:* 23. 1846.

The Queen wishes me to give you her permission to have the guns fired as you propose.

5 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

COLONIAL OFFICE. *Mch* 5, 46.

Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and has to submit to Your Majesty's gracious consideration his advice that Captain Charles Hotham of the Royal Navy, who commanded Your Majesty's vessels engaged in the River Parana on the 18th of November 1845,² should on account of his distinguished conduct on that occasion be honoured with a Commander's Cross of the Order of the Bath.

6 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

COLONIAL OFFICE. *March* 25, 1846.

Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and prays Your Majesty's gracious approval of a scheme which has been brought under the notice of his predecessor in this Department and of himself, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the late Governor of New South Wales, for the division of the Bishopric of Australia into three Bishoprics.

Mr. William Gladstone humbly desires that Your Majesty should be pleased to observe the manner in which the pecuniary part of this arrangement is to be effected.

The Bishop of Australia has an Income of two thousand pounds a year : and he has proposed to surrender one thousand pounds a year from that Income with a view to the more effectual care of his immense Diocese, on the sole condition of receiving the annual proceeds of a piece of land, which at the utmost as he expects cannot do more during his life than pay the rent of a residence.

¹ In the Sikh War, December 18 and 21-2, 1845.

² In the operations against Rosas, dictator of Buenos Aires.

The plan is, however, as it now stands, slightly more favourable to his Lordship than as he himself proposed it inasmuch as with Your Majesty's sanction it is intended to allow to him an Income of fifteen hundred pounds a year.

It is also contemplated that one new Bishopric should be constituted to the North, and one to the South, of Sydney. The endowments to be attached to each of them respectively will amount to between eight and nine hundred pounds a year.

The additional charge to the Colony will be very small, as nearly the whole remainder of these endowments over and above what is given by the Bishop of Australia will be supplied by the Colonial Bishops' Fund from home.

Mr. William Gladstone has great satisfaction in beseeching Your Majesty's favourable consideration of these arrangements, alike on account of their intrinsic advantage and of the eminently disinterested proceeding on the part of the Bishop of Australia by which they have been rendered practicable.

7 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *March 28. 1846.*

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 25th inst: recommending that the Bishopric of Australia sh^{ld} be divided into 3 Bishoprics.—

The Queen approves of the intended arrangement, & hopes that the 2 new Bishops will be very carefully selected, for these posts of considerable difficulty.

8 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

April 1 [1846].

The Queen gives instant permission that the guns be fired for this glorious Victory of our arms.¹

9 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. *April 9, 1846.*

Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and submits to Your Majesty's judgment the accompanying pattern of a Colour proposed for the use of the Saint Helena Regiment of Militia.

¹ In the Sikh War, Aliwal, January 28, 1846.

10 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*COLONIAL OFFICE. *April 17. 1846.*

Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and submits for Your Majesty's gracious consideration whether Your Majesty will give directions, with a view to marking yet more effectually the services of Majors General Sir Henry Smith and Gilbert, that the Governor General of India shall proceed to invest them with the ensigns of their respective dignities as K.G.C. and K.C. of the Order of the Bath.

11 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*COLONIAL OFFICE, *May 4. 1846.*

From the interest which Your Royal Highness is pleased to take in the question of Transportation, I am induced to take the liberty of forwarding for Your perusal a copy of a dispatch which it has been my duty to address to Sir Eardley Wilmot, the Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land, recalling him from that office.

12 *The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone*BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *May 6. 1846.*

I have read the dispatch with great interest. Sir Eardley Wilmot must really have been entirely unconscious of having any serious charge committed to him. Whom do you propose to recommend to the Queen as his successor? The choice will be a very difficult one, & still it is evident that we cannot come to any conclusive opinion upon the merit of the present system, if this has not been tried by able hands.

13 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*COLONIAL OFFICE. *May 6. 1846.*

I have had the honour to receive Your Royal Highness's note.

I have not up to the present moment been able to select, nor have my colleagues suggested to me, anyone, whose name I could submit to Her Majesty with perfect confidence for the discharge of the very important and difficult duties which must devolve upon the Successor of Sir Eardley Wilmot.

It is however most important that he should be relieved at once from public functions : and a vessel having, unexpectedly to me, offered an opportunity of writing this day to Australia, I humbly propose to Her Majesty that Mr. La Trobe, now Superintendent of Port Philip, a man of high character and decided abilities, should be appointed, for the time, Administrator of the Government of Van Diemen's Land.

On account of the pressure of time I at once forward a warrant prepared for Her Majesty's signature if she shall think fit, to give effect to this intention : and I trust Your Royal Highness may be pleased to submit it to Her Majesty's notice accordingly.

14 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

COLONIAL OFFICE. May 16. 1846.

Mr. William Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and submits to Your Majesty's gracious notice a letter which he has received from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Your Majesty will perceive with satisfaction, from that letter, that Miss Burdett Coutts, so well known for her pious munificence at home, is prepared to devote the sum of thirty-five thousand pounds to the foundation of two Bishoprics, the one at the Cape of Good Hope, and the other in South Australia.

Your Majesty is well aware of the eminently beneficial results which have followed upon the foundation of Bishoprics in many of the Colonies, with regard to the discipline of the Clergy, the satisfaction and edification of the people, and, except in one peculiar case, the harmony which ought to subsist between the civil government and the teachers of religion.

Mr. William Gladstone humbly trusts that Your Majesty will see cause to approve of the proposal of Miss Burdett Coutts adopted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to give Your royal sanction to the erection of the Sees in question.

15 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. May 17. 1846.

The Queen returns this letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury and much admires the Munificence of Miss Burdett Coutts.

The Queen readily sanctions the proposal for the Bishoprics at the Cape of Good Hope, and in South Australia.

16

*Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*OSBORNE. *June 29. 1846.*

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 28th inst: She approves that in the event of a Division of the Colony of New Zealand, that the one portion sh^{ld} bear the Queen's name. . . .

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, 1852-5

The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, II, 542.)

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 19th April. 1853.

I must write to you a line in order to congratulate you on your success of last night. I have just completed a close and careful perusal of your speech, which I admire extremely, and I have heard from all sides that the effect it has produced is very good. Trusting that your Christian humility will not allow you to become dangerously elated, I cannot resist sending you the Report¹ which Lord John Russell² made to the Queen for your perusal; knowing that it will give you pleasure, and that these are the best rewards which a public man can look for.

18 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, II, 543.)

DOWNING STREET. April 19. 1853.

I have to offer my most humble and grateful thanks to Her Majesty for graciously allowing me to know the terms in which Lord John Russell's kindness allowed him to describe the statement made by me last night in the House of Commons; and to Your Royal Highness for the letter which Your Royal Highness has been pleased to address to me.

The reception which you Sir, gave to my explanation on the 9th instant of the propositions I had to submit to the Cabinet was one of the first and best omens of their favourable fortune.

As a Servant of the Crown, deeply sharing in that attachment which all Servants of Her Majesty must feel both to Her Throne and Person, I venture to hope that the propositions of the Government declared through me, are in accordance with our faith and loyalty to Her Majesty.

¹ *Lord John Russell to Queen Victoria*

CHESHAM PLACE, 19th April, 1853.

... Mr. Gladstone's statement last night was one of the most powerful financial speeches ever made in the House of Commons.

Mr. Pitt in the days of his glory might have been more imposing, but he could not have been more persuasive.

² Lord President of the Council.

For myself, Sir I am most thankful if it can be said that I have not by my own defects injured a good and an honest cause : my only title to reward lies in sincerity of purpose, and by such testimony as that of Your Royal Highness I am already much more than duly rewarded. . . .

19 *The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. July 18. 1853.

Having always taken a lively interest in the savings banks of this country and being since some years personally connected with the largest of them " St. Martin's " I cannot refrain from sending you privately the Report of a sub Committee of that Body on your Bill now before Parliament. I should think delay in legislating on this delicate subject of much less danger than the possibility of a false move, considering the extreme sensitiveness and suspicious feeling of depositors in general.

I do not at all bind myself to the opinion contained in the Report as I have not even seen the Bill, but thought an early communication of the opinion of such very experienced persons might be of value.

20 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*

DOWNING STREET. July 19. 1853.

I have had the honour to receive your Royal Highness's note of yesterday.

May I express the satisfaction with which I regard it, as a proof of Your Royal Highness's convalescence, and my respectful hope that, if the statement in this morning's paper respecting Her Majesty's health be well founded, the anxiety which the country must feel, whenever Her Majesty's health may be affected even by slight causes, may soon be relieved by the most favourable statements.

A suggestion from Your Royal Highness, to the effect that the Savings Banks Bill might advantageously be delayed, would of itself have commanded, I need hardly say, my respectful consideration.

I think indeed that the representations which purport to proceed from Trustees and Managers of those Institutions must be received with some qualification : as they are in most instances

prompted by the paid officers of the Banks, who alone (in general) have studied the numerous and diversified provisions of the Bill, and who are alarmed at the prospects of reduced expenditure, and the possibility of displacement.

It appears to me, I confess, that the inclination to multiply objections rather than to narrow the issues is traceable in the Report of the St. Martin's Place sub Committee.

I do not think there is any likelihood of a strong Parliamentary opposition to the Bill: and it is certainly *primâ facie* desirable to settle the question of Savings Banks. . . .

21 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*

DOWNING ST. *July 19, 1853.*

Instead of presuming to trouble Her Majesty at this moment, I take leave to submit to Your Royal Highness the accompanying Proof Specimens of a Sovereign, and a half Sovereign which have been struck from the Dies prepared for the Mint about to be established at Sydney.

I trust that these Coins may, when Your Royal Highness shall consider that the proper time has come be inspected by Her Majesty and may receive Her Majesty's gracious approbation.

22 *The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. *July 20, 1853.*

I return you the Australian Coins which the Queen wishes me to say she approves. We did not keep these specimens, thinking they might be wanted as models, but the Queen would like to possess a specimen of each. On the Half Sovereign the Medallist has deprived H.M. of part of her intellect by making her forehead excessively flat and retreating. This might have been wished otherwise, but on the whole they are handsome coins.

I can quite enter into your feelings with regard to the Savings Banks Act, but am glad to see that you also incline towards delay.

The News Papers gave the Queen the Measles 48 hours before we knew of it. The malady however, is come at last and appears of a favorable character; you will have read the Bulletin before receiving this Box.

23 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*DOWNING STREET. *July 22. 1853.*

Since I had the honour to receive Your Royal Highness' letter of July the 20th, I have seen the Master of the Mint, and have pointed out to him the defect which Your Royal Highness' eye detected in the Head of Her Majesty on the Half Sovereign. It likewise appeared to me upon looking more closely at the coin that it was defective in the lower part : it certainly did not correspond with the Sovereign : the angle formed by the front line of the neck with the line from the point of the chin, which meets it being perceptibly more obtuse in the smaller than in the larger coin. . . .

I rejoice in common with all Her Majesty's subjects to read the highly favourable Bulletin of to-day's papers.

24 *The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone*WINDSOR CASTLE. *November 4, 1853.*

. . . I quite see the advantage to the Exchequer and to the Government in proposing their votes, and the convenience to the troops of appropriating (as proposed) a part of the Property purchased by the Commissioners as a site for a Metropolitan Barrack.

I should be sorry however to see the proposal seriously adopted. You not only deprive the Commissioners of the best slice of their ground (outside the new roads) and that which from its shape and its lying nearest to Hyde Park Corner was peculiarly adapted for the different learned Societies, should they be inclined to seek a habitation in this locality—but from the effect which the neighbourhood of a barrack always has in deteriorating the value of the neighbouring property (from a perhaps not unreasonable dread of the description of dwellings and *inhabitants* that are usually found in the vicinity of a barrack) you run a serious risk of permanently damaging a scheme, which has yet to be carried out and for which public sympathy is to be enlisted.

It will be better perhaps to postpone any discussion on the question till your return to town, when we may have an opportunity of thoroughly investigating the proposal, and of determining what may be best for all parties—unless indeed, which I should prefer, you should at once decide upon continuing the negotiation which has been already begun, for Mr. Broadwood's

property and upon leaving to the Commissioners a piece of ground which it is most desirable for them to possess either for the further extension of their plan at some future period, or for the accommodation of the learned Societies.

25 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*

DOWNING ST. Nov. 16. 53.

I have the honour humbly to acquaint Your Royal Highness that I had to-day an opportunity of submitting to the Cabinet the question whether they concurred in the opinion of the Committee of the House of Commons that the proposal of the Commission of 1851 to place the National Gallery at Kensington should be accepted: and that the Cabinet determined to accept the site of the Estate of the Commission.

No question except this was raised. But the Cabinet are somewhat apprehensive with regard to the immense outlay which is likely to be required in connection with public buildings and the sites for them.

I have not yet had any Report from the Ordnance respecting the ground to the south of the Block.

26 *The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 17. 1853.

Many thanks for your letter, which has relieved me much; for I cannot tell you how unhappy that sudden introduction of the Barrack question into all our difficulties to provide for the future development of Science and Art had made me. I think your plan of going on for a whole year longer with Portman Street Barracks much the safest under the circumstances. If Parliament should object another year to find room for putting up the Troops without availing itself of a portion of the Ground held by the Commissioners much the best, and most economical plan would be, to sell outright certain portions of our Estate and apply the money to the purchase of a convenient site for Barracks, *not intruding* into our Sanctuary. After the decision respecting the National Gallery shall have been come to, I have little doubt that F. and G.¹ for instance would pay for Mr. Broadwood's ground or some such.

¹ Parts marked on the ground plan.

I would never allow the Ordnance to consider that they had the choice to take from us what suited them best. They would not refuse Burlington House I am sure.

27 (Copy) Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert

DOWNING STREET, 18 November, 1853.

I need occupy Your Royal Highness further with little beyond a single sentence. I fear there are three reasons, each of them taken singly conclusive against applying the Burlington House site for a Barrack: besides others which might be named. These are:

1. The enormous expense.
2. The insufficiency of the space—less than one third of the southern site on the Kensington Gore Estate.
3. The character of the vicinage—the whole of which at every point is such as to make any nuisances or inconveniences attending a Barrack operate with tenfold severity.

But I trust we may now obtain time at least for consideration.

28 The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 19. 1853.

I have received your letter and write merely to say that I hinted at the willingness of the Ordnance to take Burlington House merely in joke. I am in earnest however when I say, that it would be exceedingly painful to have to negotiate with the neighbouring proprietor under the apprehension that the Government has a secret intention of perhaps ultimately applying the property to purposes injurious to their estates, leading them to believe at the same time that their agreeing to our proposals will be to their benefit.

29 (Copy) Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

DOWNING STREET. Jan. 26. 1854.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and submits herewith to Your Majesty's gracious notice two letters from Lord John Russell to himself with reference to the mode in which first appointments are commonly made to the lower grades of the Civil Service, together with a copy of his own reply to the earlier of those letters.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has presumed to add copies

confidentially printed of a Report on this particular in the organisation of the Civil Service, and of a Letter suggesting the form into which a system of examination might be thrown.

Lord Aberdeen¹ has informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he writes to Your Majesty to-night on the subject of these documents.

30

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, III, 10-11.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 7. 1854.

The Queen must apologise for having kept the enclosed papers so long & in now sending them back she does so without feeling sure in her mind that she c^d with safety sanction Mr. Gladstone's new & important proposal. The change it implies will be very great in principle, & irretrievable, & the Queen must say that Lord John Russell's apprehensions as to the spirit it is likely to engender amongst the future Civil Servants of the Crown have excited a similar feeling in her mind. Where is, moreover, the application of the principle of public competition to stop, if once established? & must not those Offices w^b are to be exempted from it, necessarily degrade the persons appointed to them in public estimation?

31 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET, Feb. 8. 54.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble Duty to Your Majesty, and presumes to offer the following explanations of the intentions of the Cabinet with reference to the plan for the improvement of the Civil Service, which has been submitted for Your Majesty's approval.

The extent, to which examination would be carried as a test of fitness under that Plan is well defined. It would apply, as a rule, to first admissions only: and to such first admissions as are understood to carry with them a qualified right of succession in an ascending scale.

This limit would have regard in part to the early age at which such appointments are made, in part to the nature of the duties they entail.

Both the age and the duties are of a nature to which the test

¹ Prime Minister.

of examination by merit is readily applicable : while for more arduous functions and more advanced years such a system is unsuited as a general rule.

The limit therefore, as it is not an arbitrary one, may without difficulty be maintained as bounding the general operation of the measure.

A limit of this kind has long been in use in the Universities ; and within it the principle and practice of competition have prevailed with happy effects.

With respect to the feelings likely to exist in the Civil Service under the operation of the system, as compared with those which exist at present, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks it his duty humbly to submit to Your Majesty that the Civil Servants of the Crown are by no means distinguished beyond other classes of Your Majesty's subjects by a spirit of contentment with their condition ; that their very general dissatisfaction is fairly to be explained by reference to the system under which they are commonly appointed and promoted :—and that appointment through ability and honest industry with preferment as the reward of service performed, is a more secure basis for permanent content and loyalty to the Throne than appointment by favour, and promotion by lapse of time.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot but feel that any apprehensions entertained by Your Majesty are in reality due to the imperfect manner in which he has placed the case before Your Majesty. He refrains from troubling Your Majesty with lengthened statements : but deeming it possible that Your Majesty may be pleased to desire of him further explanations on this most weighty subject, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will hold himself in readiness to obey Your Majesty's Commands to him either to write more at large, or to wait upon Your Majesty.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter rec^d yesterday.

The best way w^{ld} be if Mr. Gladstone w^{ld} be so good as to come to the Prince at Buckingham Palace on Tuesday mor^e at 11 (if that suits him) when he can enter fully into the important subject w^h he has submitted to the Queen.

The Queen thinks this w^{ld} be the most convenient to Mr. Gladstone as we shall go to Town on Monday Even^g—but any later day will be equally convenient to us.

33 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. Feb. 16. 54.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and in obedience to the command which Your Majesty was pleased to convey to him through His Royal Highness the Prince Albert, has the honour to submit to Your Majesty a short Memorandum, which he trusts may be found to exhibit clearly the outline and purpose of the contemplated measure with reference to admissions into the Civil Service of the Crown.

34 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, III, 12-13.)

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. Feb: 17. 1854.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter & memorandum & has heard from the Prince the further explanation of the grounds upon which Mr. Gladstone thinks the new regulations respecting the Civil Service, necessary.

The Queen, altho' not without considerable misgivings, sanctions the proposed plan, trusting that Mr. Gladstone will do what he can, in the arrangements of the details of it, to guard against the dangers, which she has pointed out in her former letter & through the Prince when he saw Mr. Gladstone.

A check for instance would be necessary upon the admission of Candidates to compete for employment, securing that they should be otherwise eligible besides the display of knowledge which they may exhibit under examination. Without this a young man, might be very ineligible & still after having been proclaimed to the world as first in ability it would require very strong evidence of misconduct to justify his exclusion by the Government.

35 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, III, 13.)

DOWNING STREET. Feb. 17. 1854.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to

Your Majesty, and has the honour to acknowledge Your Majesty's gracious letter.

He takes blame to himself for having caused Your Majesty trouble by omitting to include in his short Memorandum an explanation of the phrase "qualified persons."

Experience at the Universities and Public schools of this country has shown that in a large majority of cases the test of open examination is also an effectual test of character: as except in very remarkable cases, the previous industry and self-denial which proficiency evinces, are rarely separated from general habits of virtue.

But he humbly assures Your Majesty that the utmost pains will be taken to provide not only for the majority but for all cases by the strictest inquiry of which the case will admit: and he has the most confident belief, that the securities for character under the system, although they cannot be unerring, will be stronger and more trustworthy than any of which the present method of appointment is susceptible.

36 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Albert*

DOWNING STREET. *June 10. 1854.*

Remembering that the Picture by Duccio in the collection now at Christie's was marked in Your Royal Highness's Catalogue and had received Your approbation, I think it my duty to apprise Your Royal Highness that there has been some difference of opinion among the Trustees of the National Gallery respecting it, and that in consequence we have not been asked to sanction any offer for it on the part of the nation.

37 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. *July 18. 1854.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and prays Your Majesty to be pleased to attach the Sign Manual to the two accompanying forms of a Royal Message to the Houses of Lords and Commons respectively, on the subject of a Vote of Credit for such of the Expenses of the War¹ as cannot conveniently be made the subjects of regular Estimate.

The Messages are drawn according to former precedent.

¹ War had been declared against Russia.

The sum for which, under this authority, Your Majesty's advisers consider that it will probably be necessary to ask is three millions. Parliament has been informed, since the commencement of May that a demand of this kind, exceeding two millions would be made. The principal charge to be covered is that of the Commissariat, including the land transport of the Army in the East. The only charge of a nature not distinctly contemplated at an earlier period is that which will arise if Lord Raglan should succeed in organising a Turkish corps under British pay and authority.

38

The Prince Albert to Mr. Gladstone

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. 20th February, 1855.

As we are very anxious about the result of the Cabinet which is to assemble at 12 o'clock,¹ it would be a great satisfaction to me if I could see you before that time. I shall await you from 11 o'clock.

¹ It resulted in the resignation of Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert from Lord Palmerston's Government.

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, 1859-66

39 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

20th September, 1859.

Will you have the kindness to present my dutiful and respectful thanks to the Prince Consort for H.R.H.'s condescension in sending me with his autograph a Copy of his very able address at Aberdeen. I have read it with the utmost interest and with some at least of the attention it deserves.

40 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET, December 2, 1859.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and takes leave to submit for Your Majesty's inspection two designs which have been prepared for the obverse, and one for the Reverse, of the new Copper, or more properly Bronze Coinage; and which are described in the accompanying letter from the Master of Your Majesty's Mint. . . .

The subject involves a number of details more or less interesting, which it is not necessary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to obtrude upon Your Majesty. He has however to observe that, as the old and the new coinage may be for some time in circulation together, it has seemed necessary to afford by palpable differences in their appearance ready means of distinguishing between them. Hence the interior ring on both sides which follows the example of the new French Bronze Coinage; and hence the altered attitude of the Britannia, with which as a popular, national, and appropriate, as well as long-established, symbol, it did not appear advisable altogether to part. . . .

41 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 4. 1859.

The Queen returns to Mr. Gladstone the accompanying specimens of the Coinage as well as the inclosed designs.—She w^{ld} like Mr. Leonard Wyon to come down some morning to Osborne to make some corrections in the Queen's head, & with respect to

the Britannia the Queen w^{ld} prefer the well known seated figure, to the new design. The inner ring which is introduced into the new bronze coinage, will the Queen thinks prevent any mistake being made between the new & old Coinage.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his clear explanation of this important subject.

42 *The Prince Consort to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Jan. 6. 1860.

I return with my best thanks the copy of your letter to Lord John on the Commercial Treaty question.¹ The matter appears very simple, if France means to proceed, & I am glad to see that you foresee no financial difficulties arising out of it to us.

43 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Consort*

DOWNING STREET. 23 Jan. 1860.

In case it should not have reached your Royal Highness from any other quarter, I take the liberty of mentioning that on Saturday the Trustees of the British Museum accepted by a majority of nine to eight a motion of Lord Palmerston's² to the effect that it is desirable under existing circumstances that the Collections of Natural History should be removed to another site.

44 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. July 4. 1860.

The Queen returns the Coins. The portrait is so *frightful* that the Queen cannot sanction it. She has given Mr. L. Wyon many sittings, corrected it again & again & still it is so bad.

He ought from the 1st to have *adopted* the *profile* on the other coins, in particular, the *florin*, w^h is excellent & was the work of Mr. L. Wyon's father, merely altering the headdress—if that was wished, tho' the Queen w^{ld} have preferred the Crown. The Queen wishes this now to be done, as *all* her sitting & all her corrections have proved utterly useless, & she really cannot allow so bad a likeness of herself to be put into circulation.

¹ Mr. Cobden was negotiating an Anglo-French Commercial Treaty in Paris.

² Prime Minister.

45 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 4. 1860.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to your Majesty and has to state that he has given immediate instructions to the Royal Engraver through the Master of the Mint in conformity with Your Majesty's gracious pleasure that the profile on the other Coins and on the Florin in particular shall be adopted for the new Copper Coinage.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has desired that this change may be made with all practicable dispatch.

He had been under the impression that the Engraver, with the advantages he enjoyed, had put himself in possession of Your Majesty's wishes; and he is much concerned to find that the pains so graciously taken by Your Majesty should have been wasted.

46 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*OSBORNE. *Aug. 5. 1860.*

The Queen returns the accompanying Coins w^h will do well now.

47 *The Prince Consort to Mr. Gladstone*WINDSOR CASTLE. *Nov. 5. 1860.*

I enclose an extract from a letter of Mr. Kingsley's, the author, on the subject of manuscripts of great historical importance in Spain, which speaks for itself. I had written to Lord John Russell¹ on the subject and likewise enclose his answer for your perusal. As you hold the purse string I would also recommend the subject to your consideration and I feel certain that you will feel its importance.

48 *The Prince Consort to Mr. Gladstone*BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *February 5. 1861.*

Should you not have seen the enclosed article in the "Revue des deux Mondes" on the Finance of the Empire of France, I am sure its perusal will much interest you.

¹ Foreign Secretary.

49 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Consort*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *February 6, 1861.*

I beg Your Royal Highness to accept my respectful but very particular thanks for your kindness in sending me the Number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which contains the recent article on French finance.

There is no subject, out of the immediate range of my official duties, on which I am so anxious to be well informed, and so sensible of being otherwise: if indeed it may not be said that it is at present within the range of my official duties and not beyond them.

The Article suggests a multitude of subjects for remark; but I shall be mindful both of my own ignorance, and of your Royal Highness's time.

With respect to two subjects only I shall venture to make a remark.

In estimating the future of French finance, we ought I apprehend to take into account one important item which it omits; I mean the reversionary title of the State to the French Railways. I do not pretend to estimate the value of this title; but it ought to be considerable. I have read a tract in which it is deliberately argued that it may be taken as a set-off, at the period when it is to accrue, against a sum equal to the present National Debt of France.

Turning now to the general picture opened by the Review, it is, I think one melancholy enough even for the time of the Constitutional Monarchy of 1830, which appears to compare in this point at great disadvantage with the period of the Restoration. Beyond all doubt it compares very advantageously with the Republic and the Empire. And this I think not only because it was less improvident and lavish, but because, as it seems to me, the extravagance of a nation, wasting its own means through the medium of its own representatives, is a small evil in comparison with the extravagance of an absolute government, wasting the means of a people whom it does not represent. The first carries within itself its own remedy: it is the same person, so to speak, that sins and that suffers; and the suffering is likely as is frequently in the natural order, to beget an indisposition to the sin. The mischief done lies partly in the loss of so many

millions, partly in the practical demoralisation, which (in my opinion) always accompanies public extravagance properly so called. But not even the latter, and still less the former, of these, is the worst feature in a case like that of the Imperial finance in France of to-day, or in Austria of to-day, or in France before the great Revolution. It is the frightful violence of reaction, and the direction which reaction may take, that seem to constitute the really grave and formidable mischief; and when freedom prevails, there is wanting this portentous feature of evil and of danger.

I hope and believe that this formidableness will be mitigated by the wise introduction of considerable freedom of trade into France. But, for reasons on which I will not now enter, I doubt whether freedom of trade will produce in France fixed results equal to those which it has produced, and is producing and will produce, for us: and besides, it does not seem as if any enlargement of resources could meet such a case as the present case in France.

The constitutional discussion in the latter sections of the Article is most interesting, and I fear but too conclusive.

After this long letter, I fear Your Royal Highness will never again send me an article on French finance.

Nevertheless, before I conclude, I humbly beg Your Royal Highness to accept the small book¹ which I inclose; and which I only presume to tender because it contains a translation of a beautiful Ballad of Schiller.

50 *The Prince Consort to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *February 7. 1861.*

I am much obliged to you for your "Critique" on the French finances. I wish *we* (the Exchequer) had a reversionary interest in the Railroads of the country. Probably we would not have got the Railways built however at least not as many as we possess.

I must also thank you for the most interesting volume of poetical translations the joint production of yourself and your brother in law, of the appearance of which I had not yet heard. I turned at once to the two German poems, which you have rendered most

¹ *Translations by Lord Lyttelton and Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Bernard Quaritch, 1861.*

correctly and pleasingly. These works must have given you both much pleasure as all successful labour does !

As we have entered upon a practice of *sending*, I cannot refrain from letting you see a Memorandum on a proposed Law for Ministerial Responsibility in Prussia (intended to be called for by the opposition in that country and dreaded by many advisers of the King). It was written by the Princess Royal for her Husband, and appeared to me so well argued, that I made the Prince of Wales translate it from the German. Its perusal may interest you on these personal grounds.

51 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Consort*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *February 9, 1861.*

I beg leave to return herewith the very remarkable paper of the Princess which appears to me to exhibit both the logical and the political faculty in a singular degree. I tender my humble thanks for the opportunity of perusing it.

52 *The Prince Consort to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *Nov. 14, 1861.*

The death of Sir James Graham has caused a vacancy amongst the Elder Brothers of the Trinity House. These vacancies are filled up by election but practically as far as the honorary Members are concerned at the recommendation of the Master. I write to enquire whether it would be agreeable to you, if I were to propose you to the Corporation.

53 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to the Prince Consort*

CHATSWORTH, CHESTERFIELD. *Nov. 16, 61.*

I have had the honour to receive Your Royal Highness's letter of the 14th : and although it is not without an emotion of pain that I can in any capacity step into a place which has been occupied by my deeply lamented friend Sir James Graham, I thankfully accept Your Royal Highness's obliging proposal to nominate me in his room as one of the Honorary Elder Brothers of the Trinity House.

54 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 29. 1861. 7 p.m.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly acquaints Your Majesty that the Cabinet is of opinion that reparation for the seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell¹ ought to be asked from the Government of the United States and that Lord Russell² is to prepare a dispatch, on which the Cabinet will deliberate to-morrow, for submission to Your Majesty.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer undertook on the part of Earl Russell to make known to Your Majesty what has passed to-day; and likewise to apprise Your Majesty that Earl Russell has seen Mr. Adams³ who states that he is without information and without instructions on the subject.

55 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Ap. 28. 1862.

The Queen wishes from the depth of a heart which bleeds *more & more* to tell Mr. Gladstone that his Speech⁴ touched & gratified her much.

He well described the love that bound & binds the poor, broken-hearted Queen to that adored & perfect Being who was & is her *All*—but without whom *life is utter darkness*.

The Queen struggles & works—& *will* devote herself to *do* what her precious Husband wishes—& desired—& thus to *do her duty* to the *last* hour of her life—but her faithful Servants & kind friends must *not deceive* themselves by *thinking* that her *efforts* will carry her on;—for the constant longing—& pining, the void & suffering to never leave her day or night—accompanied by the *g^t* amount of work & responsibility w^h *weighs alone* upon her is *telling very* VISIBLY upon her health & strength; she gets much weaker—her health worse & her nerves terribly shattered.

And this in *spite* of the *firmest* hope & *trust* in the Blessed Eternal Reunion with her Angel & of doing all that is asked of her.

¹ Confederate envoys arrested by Federal naval forces in the British steamer *Trent*.

² Foreign Secretary.

³ U.S. Minister in London.

⁴ At Manchester on the death of the Prince Consort.

Her sufferings *none* can *know*—but she wishes *none* to suffer as she does!—HER *only* wish is to get *Her* to her own Darling again!

EVERY *day* seems to encrease the intensity of a sorrow—which *nothing, nothing* can alleviate as there never was *love & devotion* like hers! Every source of interest or pleasure causes now the acutest pain.

Mrs. Gladstone who the Queen knows is a *most* tender wife—may—in a faint manner picture to herself what the Queen suffers.

56 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *April 29, 1862.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and, however fearful he may be of saying either more or less than is right, he must trust to Your Majesty's gracious indulgencies, and in any case he cannot receive in silence the letter which Your Majesty has condescended to address to him.

It would be selfish were he to dwell upon the pleasure, with which he learns that anything said by him could at such a moment raise in Your Majesty's mind the feeling, which, at the opening of the letter, Your Majesty describes. But it may not be impertinent in him to assure Your Majesty that all the words to which Your Majesty refers were received with deep emotion by the whole of a very large assembly, which appeared to feel both Your Majesty's two conspicuous afflictions, and the solemnity of its relation to the severe and alas darkening circumstances of the district.¹

In presuming to touch upon that relation, and in following the direction which his subject gave him towards very sacred ground, he was especially desirous to avoid using even a phrase or a word of exaggeration, and likewise to speak only as one who had seen Your Majesty's great sorrow in no other way than as all Your Majesty's subjects have beheld it.

He knew that in speaking thus he must fall short of the truth: and indeed even were it becoming to make the attempt, he would in vain labour to convey the impression made upon his mind by the interview to which he was admitted at Windsor, and by the letter now in his hands. After Your Majesty's allusion,

¹ In the Lancashire cotton famine.

he cannot forbear to add that in all his feelings his wife entirely and profoundly shares.

It is impossible for human hands to carry to Your Majesty the consolation that such a bereavement requires ; and even with that portion, that surface as it were, of Your Majesty's grief, which alone your subjects see, they know they are unable to deal. Yet they cannot shut out hope concerning a sorrow which is full of humility and self-mistrust, and which itself does not shut out, but seems to quicken, the sense of duty and draws from the tender recollection of the past and from faith in the unseen fresh devotion to its performance. Also they take comfort in thinking that He who made and who gave and took away the Treasure You have lost must have taken it away in the same Love, in which He gave it : and that One Who, rare as is Your Majesty's sorrow, sorrowed and suffered more, can in His own time and way, either lighten the burden, or give strength to bear it, or bring the conflict gently to an end. Unable to see into the future, we believe Madam that He can choose for You the best of these ; and that He will.

Mr. Gladstone will take the liberty humbly to transmit to Your Majesty a copy of the Address at Manchester when it is reprinted.

57

The Princess Alice to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL CASTLE. May 6. 1862.

The Queen wishes Princess Alice to thank Mr. Gladstone in her name for the kind letter he wrote to her the other day, which did her aching heart good.

Kind words soothe, but nothing can lessen or alleviate the weight of sorrow she has to bear.

Princess Alice would like before closing these lines to ask Mr. Gladstone to send her a copy of his speech which, as she admired it much would be of real value to her.

Would Mr. Gladstone be so kind as to send the Princess's affectionate remembrances to Mrs. Gladstone and to Agnes.

58 (Copy)

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

BALMORAL. September 30, 1863.

. . . As Your Majesty was pleased to refer in conversation to question often debated whether counsel ought to plead for c-

without being satisfied of their justice ; the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks Your Majesty may like to see the opinion of so able a man as Dr. Johnson upon that subject. It is at p. 16 of the volume enclosed.

59 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

BALMORAL. October 6. 1863.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and begs to acquaint Your Majesty that the Cabinet has been summoned to meet on Tuesday the 13th : probably as he conjectures, with reference to the ironclads at Birkenhead.¹

He takes this opportunity of humbly thanking Your Majesty for calling his attention to a most beautiful and deeply touching passage in Wallenstein.

He has procured from London the translation of which he spoke, and hopes Your Majesty will excuse the smallness of the print, and slight pencil notes or marks which are of thirty years' standing.

He has placed a mark at the page where the passage will be found, rendered with considerable freedom and even licence, but in some of the verses, he ventures to think with startling beauty.

Since he presumed to name this version to Your Majesty, he has been apprised that Schiller himself declared it to be in some parts superior to the original.

Perhaps Your Majesty may think it worth while to turn to a very beautiful passage of Shelley to which reference is made in the margin, and which has a mark at the page. Both its merit and its sorrow are remarkable, although the general tone of his writings is unhappily not healthy.

Mr. Gladstone thanks Your Majesty very much for sending him M. Guizot's preface with his daughter's translation. The latter seems to him to correspond exactly with Your Majesty's description ; and the former has all the felicity of expression and fitness of thought which, on very many subjects, distinguish M. Guizot.

Mr. Gladstone is ashamed of troubling Your Majesty at such length ; but he has still to mention that he has just received from Manchester a drawing of a Church and Schools which are termed

¹The Laird rams, built to Confederate orders and purchased for the Admiralty in Merston's suggestion.

"The Albert Memorial Church and Schools" and of this drawing the promoters humbly pray Your Majesty's acceptance. He was encouraged by Sir Charles Phipps to hold out to them the expectation that it would be received.

60 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. October 13. 1863.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly acquaints Your Majesty that he has been careful to convey the expressions used by Your Majesty in the last audience Your Majesty was graciously pleased to grant him respecting the question of Schleswig-Holstein.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has used the limited means in his possession at the moment, both at Balmoral and here to obtain light upon a question which merits and requires a much longer study in order to its full comprehension.

As far as he can understand, the question includes within itself many distinct and separate questions; whether the international arrangement regulating the succession was a just one; whether it can now be disturbed; whether the King of Denmark has paid due regard to the just rights of Schleswig; whether he has done the same in regard to Holstein, and if not what grounds of action against Denmark the King has given to the Confederation; whether the Federal Execution which has recently been threatened aims at objects connected only with German Territory, or affects non-German portions of the Danish Kingdom; and whether in so far as those objects affect the Danish Monarchy beyond German limits, the questions connected with them ought to be treated as matters of Federal jurisdiction, or as matters of international concern.

As far as the Chancellor of the Exchequer is able to perceive, it is the view of Your Majesty's Advisers, from which he is not in possession of reasons for dissent, that the Federal Execution contemplates, at least in part, purposes which affect the Danish monarchy at large, and that purposes of this nature are justly to be considered as matters of international concern; but the purpose of the Government which he trusts may meet Your Majesty's approval, is to use every effort for bringing in the aid of time with a view to the impartial consideration and the fair and amicable settlement of these difficulties.

61 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 19. 1864.

I have no observation to make on your letter except that I am sorry we did not know the dispatch ¹ had been approved by the Cabinet. It would not have altered my opinion : but I should have expressed it with more reserve or modesty.

I am by no means one of those with whom suspicion of France is an established principle of action ; still I do not like to put England in the power of any other country.

I admit too that it seems almost a paradox to suppose she could make so sudden a whirl about. But on the other hand there is mystery in her proceedings : she fairly avows her intention to preserve her "liberty" ; and we have hardly a right to expect from her that redundancy of self-denial which would be implied in a determination on her part to renounce all chance of deriving advantage for herself from the present complications.

62 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

July 28. 1864.

The Queen sends a letter from Sir A. Paget ² for Mr. Gladstone to read as she thinks it shows but too clearly the bad effects on our Diplomats of "the odious tradition," he spoke of, he sh^{ld} speak to L^d Russell³ about it.

Our interests ! God knows ! Germany is not ever likely to attack us—she who *ought* to be our *real* ally !

Alas ! Our press has done its best to alienate the 2 Nations—The Queen must ask for it back.

63 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 3. 1864.

The Queen is most thankful to Mr. Gladstone for his letter & the interesting details respecting the last passage and honours paid to her dear & valued friend the Duke of Newcastle.⁴ It is difficult for her to realise that he also is gone to join her beloved & precious Husband he loved so well.

She *deeply* deplores his loss ; he was a true & devoted friend of her dear Husband's & herself, & of our poor son who is so deplor-

¹ On the question of Schleswig-Holstein.² Minister at Copenhagen.³ Foreign Secretary.⁴ Formerly Colonial Secretary.

ably alone in this world ; the Duke was ever devoted & loyal, & he was one of our few very intimate friends who are almost all gone now—when the Queen, isolated, broken-hearted & shattered needs their friendship and support most. As long as *we* two were *together*, tho' we *felt* the ties of friends most deeply—yet we felt *also* we c^{ld} brave *all* together. But now the oak is felled & the ivy is gradually dying off—*crushed* for ever.

It is a g^t comfort to think that dear Duke's last days were far more peaceful & freer from suffering. And *now*—*all* his sorrows have ceased & he is surely reaping the reward of all his good *deeds* & his noble disinterested life. It is a g^t source of satisfaction to the Queen to reflect on her 2 visits to him but especially her last, when he was so well—& she held his hand long in hers—as tho' it w^d seem to take a last *leave on Earth* !

64

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 19. 1866.

The Queen returns these messages w^h she approves (she has telegraphed to that effect)—& also approves of the intended Address respecting a Monument to Lord Palmerston¹ in Westminster Abbey.

The Queen cannot conclude without expressing to Mr. Gladstone her gratification at the accounts she hears from all sides of the admirable manner in which he has commenced his Leadership in the House of Commons.

65 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 20. 1866.

. . . In the early part of the evening, a question was put by a member to the Government respecting Your Majesty's having been at Osborne on Saturday ; amidst evident signs of impatience and disapproval from the House.

Mr. Gladstone offers his dutiful and grateful thanks for the gracious words Your Majesty has been pleased to use respecting the discharge of the duties he has recently undertaken. He fears that any favourable impressions which may exist are rather due to the absence, thus far, of trying occasions, than to conduct of his. But he can truly say that Your Majesty's words will greatly sustain and encourage him in the endeavour to do his duty.

¹ Lord Palmerston had died October 18, 1865.

66 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Sir T. Biddulph*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 31st May. 1866.

Probably about this time a Volume of Mr. Cobden's political writings may have reached the proper Officer, from Mrs. Cobden, in the hope that Her Majesty may accept it.

I wish to say that Mrs. Cobden, who appears to me to be as modest and as intelligent as she is intensely devoted to the memory of her excellent and most distinguished Husband, wrote to consult me upon this matter, and expressed some scruple about tendering the presentation, because she thought her husband had—with his very quiet and retiring disposition—unduly procrastinated the duty of paying his respects to the Sovereign at Court, until the premature old age of exhausted health came in to prevent it.

I strongly urged Mrs. Cobden not to be prevented by any such consideration from giving effect to her wish. If there be any fault therefore in it, the fault is mine. But my belief was that the Queen would receive this relic of one of the most remarkable men among her subjects from a Widow really worthy of him as no merely formal compliment, and with more than a common interest.

The simplicity, truthfulness, earnestness and unselfishness of Mr. Cobden's character would, I am sure, have attracted the favourable notice and sympathy of Her Majesty.

I had almost written the substance of this letter direct. Perhaps if you see no objection you will kindly make it known to the Queen.

67 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 336.)

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. June 21. 1866.

I deeply feel as we all do for the annoyance and anxiety of this crisis to the Queen.¹

There are things that can and that cannot be done ; to acquiesce in a further limitation of the enfranchisement we had so much cut down already from the standard of the Palmerston measure of 1860 would cover us with shame, *and would not settle the question.*

We could only therefore cast about for alternatives in directions other than this.

¹ The Government was defeated on their Reform Bill, June 18, 1866.

68 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *June 26. 1866.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty.

He this evening made a statement in the House of Commons of the consequences connected with the Resignation of Your Majesty's Advisers ; of the reasons which induced Your Majesty to postpone its acceptance, and of those which led the ministers to their conclusion. No remark was made by any other member.

The House of Commons stands adjourned until Thursday.

It will then doubtless be further adjourned to such day as may be suggested by any Person who may have the honour of Your Majesty's commands to form an Administration.

Mr. Gladstone cannot submit this his last official report of the proceedings of the House of Commons without laying at Your Majesty's feet the expression of his gratitude for all Your Majesty's unfailing condescension and indulgence to him in his most imperfect performance of his public duties.

OPPOSITION, 1866-8.

69 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 24, 1866.*

I have read your letter with much regret. The late Government I think unanimously agreed that it would not be well to ask the House of Commons for a further vote for the Prince Consort's Memorial in order to purchase metal. In this opinion Lord Palmerston fully concurred.¹ It is contrary to the rules of good administration to ask money from Parliament for a particular purpose without intimating that more will be required, and then to ask more for the very same purpose. And in the rules of good administration none has so deep an interest as the Crown. Lastly it would be in my opinion highly irregular to make such an application in the last days of the Session by Supplemental Estimate. This Memorial has been for years in progress and will yet I imagine take years to complete. There has been and will be ample time to foresee everything, and money should not be sought for any such purpose at a period when three-quarters of the Members of Parliament will have left town. Nothing should ever be put into Supplemental Estimates except that which could neither have gone into the original Estimates, nor be postponed to next year. This satisfies neither condition. I will not say whether anyone will be so far on the alert as to raise objection, but if they do the result will be mischievous. For my own part you will see after what I have said that I can give no pledge to support the proposal.

70 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[*Telegram*]

June 13, 1867.

I wish you to come on Saturday to dine and sleep here.

71 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 18, 1867.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and humbly transmits herewith a Photograph of the Duke of New-

¹ There was copious official correspondence on this subject, *v. GURDALLA, P., Gladstone and Palmerston, 1928, pp. 67-8, 260 et seq.*

castle, which Your Majesty has graciously expressed a willingness to receive.

The Photograph is taken from a very striking but melancholy portrait by Mr. Watts. It was found extremely difficult to obtain even a tolerable photograph from the original work. Mr. Watts himself retouched the expression first obtained, and by degrees, with much aid from the skill and care of Mr. Robinson of South Kensington, a likeness has been produced which it is hoped Your Majesty may think not wholly unworthy of acceptance.

Mr. Gladstone avails himself of this opportunity to pray, in the name of Mrs. Cobden, Your Majesty's gracious acceptance of a copy of Mr. Cobden's political writings collected into two volumes. If his memory does not deceive him, he formerly obtained Your Majesty's kind permission to transmit this offering as a memorial of one of the most distinguished Englishmen of the age, on behalf of a widow whose life seems to be alike absorbed and consoled by labours connected with her husband's memory.

72

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. *July 19. 1867.*

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone very much for his letter & for the sad but valued & certainly good likeness of our dear departed friend the Duke of Newcastle.

She also thanks him for sending her Mr. Cobden's Writings & would ask him to convey the expression of her sincere thanks to his afflicted Widow.—

Before closing this letter, the Queen wishes to mention to Mr. Gladstone that she intends to send him the 1st Vol : of "The Life" of her beloved Husband w^h she is sure he will peruse with interest as being the record of the beginning of a life so pure & good—& great of which these early years give so great a promise.

73 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 22, 1867.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and is deeply grateful for the announcement of Your Majesty's gracious intention to present to him the Volume which records

the earlier portion of the life of the Prince Consort. Mr. Gladstone has already had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with its contents. He paid a visit to the Deanery at Windsor on the 13th, and the Dean then showed him the work, the whole of which he perused with an eager interest, and with a conscious temptation to covet what Your Majesty's unmerited and unexpected goodness has now promised him.

No description of the effect produced by such a work can be otherwise than cold and tame to Your Majesty. Yet Mr. Gladstone cannot avoid saying in few words how with reference to the Prince Consort it chiefly impressed him, a narrative presenting so rare and sustained a continuation of beauty, excellence and power carries the mind away from the distractions and contentions of the world to higher and nobler objects ; and although this Life passed in constant harmony with duty and the will of God, was given to a sphere entered by so few, yet the lessons of which it is full have so direct a hold on all human sympathies that they speak to each of us in his degree, and are full not less of profit than of interest for all who will receive them.

Since this letter was written the Volume has arrived. Mr. Gladstone humbly repeats his thanks.

74 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to the Earl of Tankerville*

[Aug. 28. 1868.]

Mr. W. E. Gladstone presents his compliments to the Lord Steward and begs to apprise him that he has just had the honour to receive Her Majesty's gracious commands ; and having within the last few days been thrown into great alarm by the illness of his eldest boy (from which he is now happily recovering), and being in consequence very desirous not to leave his family until another day has passed, he feels sure that Her Majesty's wonted kindness will for the reason above stated graciously excuse his coming to Osborne to-morrow, and will allow him to obey Her Majesty's gracious commands on Wednesday the 30th.

PRIME MINISTER, 1868-74.

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 1. 1868.

Mr. Disraeli has tendered his resignation to the Queen.

The result of the appeal to the Country is too evident to require its being proved by a vote in Parliament,¹ & the Queen entirely agrees with Mr. Disraeli & his followers in thinking that the most dignified course for them to pursue, as also the best for the public Interests, was immediate resignation.

Under these circumstances the Queen must ask Mr. Gladstone as the acknowledged Leader of the Liberal Party, to undertake the formation of a new Administration. With one or two exceptions the reasons for which she has desired Gen^l Grey (the bearer of this letter) to explain, the Queen w^{ld} impose no restrictions on Mr. Gladstone as to the arrangement of the various Offices in the manner w^h he believes to be best for the public service and she trusts that he will find no difficulty in filling them up, or at least the greater part of them, so that the Council may be held before the 13th.

Mr. Gladstone will understand why the Queen w^{ld} wish to be spared making any arrangements of this nature for the next few days after the 13th.

The Queen adds what she said on a similar occasion two years & $\frac{1}{2}$ ago to Lord Derby; that she will not name any time for seeing Mr. Gladstone, who may wish to have an opportunity of consulting some of his friends before he sees her; but that, as soon as he shall have done so, & expresses a desire to see the Queen, she will be ready to receive him.

76 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Dec. 3. 1868.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and proceeds to report to Your Majesty the purport of his interview with Lord Clarendon.

¹ The Liberal Party had won the General Election of 1868.

Mr. Gladstone adverted to his conversation with Lord Clarendon in the summer and expressed his desire to know Lord Clarendon's final views. He referred to the increasingly onerous duties of the Foreign Department and to the lapse of years. He mentioned particularly that Your Majesty had resorted to an increased use of writing in the transaction of its business and had found satisfaction in this method.

Lord Clarendon's views may be summed up in two points: the expression of his perfect willingness to remain out of office (indeed he pressed Mr. Gladstone to consider whether this might not be on the whole best for Your Majesty's service) and his decided intention to take no other office than that in which he had so long served Your Majesty. Mr. Gladstone hoped that Lord Clarendon would not remain out of office. Mr. Gladstone then with some apology said that he had determined to assume the responsibility of naming to his probable colleagues, especially such as were likely to be placed by their offices in close relation with Your Majesty, a subject which he felt very strongly for himself. He was conscious he said on his own part that it was absolutely due to Your Majesty, and that in a special sense *now* as compared with former periods, that a peculiar care and caution should be used so as not to aggravate unnecessarily in any point by word or act the heavy and constant cares of Your Majesty's august station, and that not only was this due to Your Majesty from loyal subjects and advisers, but it was necessary in order that there might be the ease and confidence in the relation between their Sovereign and them which are requisite for the satisfactory transaction of the public business. Mr. Gladstone dwelt upon this in some detail and with variety of expression so as to make sure that it was fully comprehended as matter not of mere form but of importance and he then directly appealed to Lord Clarendon as one of the parties directly concerned upon the subject—nor did he stop short of noticing as matter of his own observation only, that from his conversational powers and habits Lord Clarendon had some special interest on the subject.

Lord Clarendon's acceptance of these remarks was full and explicit and was couched in such terms as Mr. Gladstone is convinced will have been satisfactory to Your Majesty. He therefore arranged with Lord Clarendon for his Lordship's return to

the Foreign Office. Upon the other hand Mr. Gladstone believes that he said nothing which could in any respect convict Your Majesty or tend to embarrass official or other relations.

On reflection Mr. Gladstone would be glad with Your Majesty's sanction to communicate to Lord Granville and to him only an outline of what has passed. Mr. Gladstone entreats from Your Majesty indulgence for the imperfections of the manner in which he has executed this portion of his task and has hastily explained the execution of it to Your Majesty nor can be contented without humbly thanking Your Majesty for the consideration, kindness and goodness with which he was this day received.

77 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 566.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 4. 1868.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone very sincerely for the kindness of his letter rec^d last night & for the anxiety which he has shown to make the communications with her Ministers as easy as possible to her. She is too straightforward not to *own* to Mr. Gladstone that she *regrets* the unavoidable conclusion w^h her connection with Lord Clarendon has led to, but we must *hope* that all will go smoothly. There are still some matters of a personal nature connected with Lord Clarendon w^h the Queen w^{ld} wish to talk to Mr. Gladstone about, when she next sees him.

The Queen quite approves that he sh^{ld} in *strict confidence* inform Lord Granville of what has passed.

She is very anxious to hear what other arrangements Mr. Gladstone has as yet been able to make.

She forgot to mention to him how glad she w^{ld} have been if Lord Halifax c^{ld} have been in the Cabinet in some office with but little work. His ability & experience w^{ld} be very valuable & the Queen has personally a *great* regard for him.

78 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Dec. 4. 1868.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that he saw Lord Granville late last night : and that he

expects to see to-day the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Childers : also Mr. Cardwell.

He has had a most friendly communication with Sir R. Palmer, but with the expected issue : and he expects to see Sir W. P. Wood as soon as the Judicial Committee breaks up.

He has considered with Lord Granville the position of the Duchess of Argyll as the wife of a Cabinet Minister with reference to the Office of Mistress of the Robes, and neither of them see any impediment to an arrangement which they trust will be gratifying to Your Majesty, and which they feel confident will be generally approved.

With Your Majesty's permission Mr. Gladstone would come to Windsor to-morrow either about two or about five to describe to Your Majesty the progress he hopes then to have made, and for one or two other purposes, particularly to submit a suggestion by which he thinks it possible that further effect might be given to the design of his conversation with Lord Clarendon.

Mr. Gladstone has written to Sir G. Grey about whose intention he is not quite certain.

79 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE, Dec. 4. 1868.

The Queen w^{ld} prefer seeing Mr. Gladstone at 5 tomorrow.

She is glad to see by his letter just rec^d that he has made so much progress.

80 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

December 5. 1868.

Memorandum

Your Majesty has this day been pleased to give your August Sanction to the following arrangements :

Mr. Gladstone to be First Lord of the Treasury : who has kissed hands.

Earl Granville to be Colonial Secretary.

Earl of Clarendon to be Foreign Secretary.

Duke of Argyll to be Secretary for India.

Lord Justice Page Wood to be Lord High Chancellor.¹

¹ As Lord Hatherley.

Mr. Cardwell to be Secretary for War.

Mr. Lowe to be Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Childers to be First Lord of the Admiralty.

Mr. Bright to be President of the Board of Trade.

And the following proposals to be made to the several persons :

Duke of Somerset to be Privy Seal or Postmaster General.

Marquis of Hartington to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Mr. Fortescue to be Chief Secretary.

Mr. Goschen to be President of the Poor Law Board.

The first, third and fourth with seats in the Cabinet.

Mr. Cowper to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Mr. Layard to be First Commissioner of Works.

Sir R. Collier to be Attorney General.

Mr. Coleridge to be Solicitor General.

Mr. Justice O'Hagan to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Mr. Moncrieff was appointed Your Majesty's Lord Advocate.

A Peerage is to be offered to the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and finally

Her Grace the Duchess of Argyll has been invited to become Mistress of the Robes.

81 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 6. 1868.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Communication—She is still most anxious to secure Lord Halifax's services either as Lord President or Privy Seal. He w^{ld} be personally so very agreeable to the Queen & his abilities are incontestible.

She has been reflecting much on his proposal respecting Lord Hartington & cannot help doubting his being very fit for that post. However, he may very likely not accept it.¹

82 *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

Most Private. 11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Dec. 6. 1868.

[*Draft unfinished and possibly not sent.*]

Will you give me your kind aid in a small but delicate matter. I understood the items you gave me of personal objection to include all cases. But there is a gentleman whom for good political

¹ Lord Hartington refused appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and became Postmaster General.

and public objects it would be desirable to propose as Judge Advocate. Mr. Ayrton—a man of great ability, great industry and I believe unimpeachable integrity. I have a very vague suspicion that something once happened which might make him not quite acceptable in the slight personal relation to Her Majesty which that office implies. You may know that this suspicion is quite groundless. If so I shall be glad to know it. And of course I do not write for the purpose of infusing it, nor imply that I know anything against Mr. Ayrton unless it be that among innumerable speeches and many useful public labours he like the rest of us has not been equally discreet at all times.

Only I wish to say that if there is the slightest shadow of a disinclination in Her Majesty's mind to this disposal of the Office. . . .

83 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 10. 1868.

. . . She regrets Lord Halifax's final decision about the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland but still hears that he is not in the Cabinet. Could he not have a Seat without an Office? He w^{ld} represent (as neither Lord Russell nor Sir G. Grey have accepted) as it were the *Old Whigs* in the Government & his experience w^{ld} be most valuable to the Cabinet & to the Queen. . . .

84 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 12. 1868.

The Queen is feeling rather tired this Ev^g besides being rather worn from talking, so perhaps she c^{ld} see Mr. Gladstone *after* Church tomorrow *at one*. Sir W^m Jenner will be here this Ev^g & stay here till tomorrow at 2. Perhaps Mr. Gladstone will let him know when he w^{ld} like to see him.

85 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 16. 1868.

The Queen sends Sir Thomas Biddulph up with these lines as she wishes to explain to Mr. Gladstone the very unsatisfactory state of the 2 Royal Yachts which is a most pressing question as both are (the one broken & the other wanting serious repairs)

useless & the *Queen & Royal Family* without any large ship fit to take them *even across the Channel* ! !

86 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

[Telegram]

Jan. 7. 1869.

Your letter¹ received this morning will have immediate attention the words astonish me.

87 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN CASTLE. Jan. 7. 1869.

... He has this morning been made aware by General Grey's letter of the extraordinary and unaccountable expressions attributed to Mr. G. O. Trevelyan in a report of his Speech on re-election, and of Your Majesty's sentiments concerning them.

He cannot altogether abandon the hope that the report may be inaccurate : but this he will immediately proceed to ascertain. If Mr. Trevelyan spoke them, or anything like them, he must altogether have forgotten for the moment his character as one of Your Majesty's servants ; which Mr. Gladstone is of course loath to believe.

Mr. Gladstone cannot but humbly subscribe to Your Majesty's judgment that an error of this nature even raises the question whether, if it was in Mr. Trevelyan's mind to point to Your Majesty in the expressions he used, he can be allowed to continue in the office which he holds. On this question it would be premature for Mr. Gladstone at present to give an opinion beyond observing that a greater notoriety might be given to the offence by the punishment, and that it might become a nucleus of mischief : while it is as yet uncertain how far it may be reduced either by explanation or by reparation.

If the words were used, then whether they were intended for Your Majesty or not, they were entirely beyond, and at variance with the duty of Mr. Trevelyan.

¹ General Grey's letter enclosed a newspaper report of a speech delivered by Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and commenting on the " tremendous influence of the Court " as an obstacle to War Office reform.

88

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 8. 1869.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter & enclosures & has asked Gl. Grey to write fully to him on the subject w^h she trusts will then be thoroughly understood and set at rest in a satisfactory manner.—

Tho' the Queen w^{ld} not wish to embarrass Mr. Gladstone on this the 1st Clerical Appt. w^h falls vacant she is anxious to express her hope that M^r. Kingsley may get a Canonry on some early occasion. He is most anxious for it, & everyone knows what a distinguished man he is.

89

General Grey to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 575-7.)*Private*

OSBORNE. Jan. 8. 1869.

The Queen commands me to return Mr. Latouche's letter containing the very liberal, and indeed noble offer of a Residence in Ireland for Her Majesty, or for members of the Royal Family.

The considerations put forward by Mr. Latouche for making the offer are such as it is clearly the duty of the Government to give their serious attention to; and you cannot doubt that it must be Her Majesty's most anxious wish, as indeed she feels it to be her duty, to do whatever she can, as Sovereign of this great Empire, towards laying the foundation of a better state of things in Ireland.

But there are many considerations on the other hand, opposed to the Establishment of a fixed Royal Residence in Ireland. It would in the first place entail an expense to keep it up, which it would be quite out of the powers of either the Queen or Prince of Wales to meet without the assistance of Government; and unless it were constantly occupied either by Her Majesty herself, or by some member of the Royal Family, the disappointment arising from its non-occupation would probably do more harm than could be compensated by the short stay from time to time, which is the utmost that could be expected from them.

It is her Majesty's anxious wish, whenever circumstances permit, as she authorized me to tell Lord Spencer, to take an opportunity of making herself acquainted with the fine scenery of Ireland, and with the character of the Peasantry, by visits of

a few weeks from time to time ; always provided that she is allowed to do so without being pressed to make public entrances into large Towns, or to hold receptions. If, in short, she can visit the country quietly, as she makes excursions in Scotland, without going near Edinburgh or Glasgow.

But it must be understood that such visits cannot be of frequent occurrence. Suffering as Her Majesty does at Sea, the necessity of having to cross the Channel would alone make this impossible. It must also be left entirely to the Queen herself to fix the time and duration of her visits. She must also protest against the unfair way in which Scotland is always brought forward as a reason why Her Majesty should reside in the same manner in other parts of her Dominions.

Balmoral was selected as a residence simply because it was a place where at the same time that the Queen found the repose, quiet and liberty she so much required, the Prince could enjoy his favourite sport of Deer-Stalking ; while the bracing nature and extreme salubrity of the climate have been found to be so beneficial to the Queen's health, (indeed perfectly necessary to it), as well as to that of her family, that she is naturally always anxious to go there whenever and for as long a time as she can. Nothing, therefore, in the least invidious to any other part of the Kingdom was intended by its selection, nor can it now give any just cause of jealousy.

Leaving you to give such an answer to Mr. Latouche as the liberality of his offer demands, the Queen hopes you will be very careful not to compromise her in any way, by holding out hopes which could only be disappointed.

90 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN CASTLE. *Jan. 9. 1869.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and submits to Your Majesty the name of Mr. Mozley, Vicar of Old Shoreham, for the vacant Canonry of Worcester.

Mr. Mozley is a clergyman of mature years, high character, great learning, and thoroughly independent mind. His theological works have placed him in the first rank of living English Divines ; and his name was much spoken of upon the vacancies, during the Government of Lord Palmerston, both of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, and of the Regius Professorship of Divinity.

Mr. Gladstone entirely subscribes to Your Majesty's opinion that Mr. Charles Kingsley is a most fit and proper person to receive Cathedral preferment.

91 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN CASTLE. *Jan.* 10. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and transmits herewith a letter which he has received from Mr. Trevelyan.

Mr. Trevelyan's error was in part due to rashness connected with inexperience, but undoubtedly in part also to a slip of the tongue, the employment of words he did not mean to use, and then a momentary confusion resulting from a painful sense of his lapse, these casualties, as Mr. Gladstone knows alike from observation and from experience, happen to persons who have not like Mr. Trevelyan the excuse of youth.

Mr. Gladstone had a very strong sense of the offence committed ; but it appears to him that the confession is frank and manly, and he feels confident that this gentleman, who is really a gentleman of high character, ability, and promise, has received a lesson for life.

With this preface, Mr. Gladstone desires to take Your Majesty's pleasure. But he has been careful not to commit Your Majesty personally in his correspondence with Mr. Trevelyan.

Reparation will be due to H.R.H. the Commander of the Forces, for that part of the proceeding which affected him, and on this, especially as to its form, Mr. Gladstone would humbly propose to refer to Mr. Cardwell.

92 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. *Jan.* 12. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter rec^d today. She approves of Mr. Mozley, Vicar of Shoreham for the vacant Canonry at Worcester.

As regards Mr. Trevelyan's offence towards herself & the Gov^t, she thinks his apology sh^{ld} certainly be accepted & Mr. Gladstone has done right in consulting Mr. Cardwell about that offered to the Duke of Cambridge.

But Mr. Trevelyan, as a Member of the Gov^t, tho' a subordinate

one, having expressed a deliberate opinion that the Duke of Cambridge sh^{ld} not be left in command of the Army, the Queen thinks it only due to the Duke that the Gov^t sh^{ld} take some means of making it known as publicly, that they do not share these views.

The Queen hopes that Mr. Gladstone will consider his answer to Mr. Latouche well, for it is probable that both the offer & the answer will be made known.

The object sh^{ld} be to show the Queen's sense of the liberality of Mr. Latouche's offer, & to mark the interest she takes in the welfare of Ireland without committing her in any way to any particular manner of showing it.

93 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 577-8.)

HAWARDEN CASTLE, Jan. 21. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and thinks it may be convenient for Your Majesty to know that on Saturday when he is to have the honour of being Your Majesty's guest at Osborne, he hopes to be in a condition to state as fully as Your Majesty may think fit the purport of the proposals which it is his desire to submit to the Cabinet on the subject of the Irish Church.

On one or two points of importance he has not yet been able to obtain all the information which is necessary in order to guide him to the safest conclusion : but in regard to these he can state to Your Majesty the alternatives which appear to him to be open.

He has prepared two papers, one of them on the general policy and effects of the measure, the other a dry recital of the purport of what would be the leading Clauses of a Bill. Of course either or both of these papers will be entirely at Your Majesty's command.

94 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 28 Jan. 1869.

. . . Mr. Gladstone is deeply thankful for Your Majesty's kindness in permitting him to peruse the letter of the King of the Belgians on his late most severe bereavement. Possessing all the best qualities of a Sovereign and a Father, the King likewise shows in the most effectual but also least ostentatious language,

that he is clad as a Christian in that armour which alone avails against calamity. The King will certainly have the warm sympathy in his affliction, of many who could convey to His Majesty the expression of it but for the feeling that it would be an act of presumption. Mr. Gladstone has sent the letter to Lord Granville and Lord Clarendon.

95

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 578-9.)

OSBORNE. Jan: 31. 1869.

The Queen has now given her best attention to Mr. Gladstone's important Papers, tho' she cannot say she feels competent to express an opinion on a proposal w^h she fears she still understands but imperfectly.—

Mr. Gladstone knows that the Queen has always regretted that he sh^{ld} have thought himself compelled to raise this question as he has done & still more that he sh^{ld} have committed himself to so sweeping a measure. Regret, however is now useless, & the Queen can only hope that it may all end in the framing of a measure satisfactory to the Country, & to which she can *conscientiously* assent.

The Queen is glad to see that Mr. Gladstone admits it to be "the duty of Gov^t to aim at a Minimum of disturbance & a "minimum of change;" & that, in the first instance at all events, as existing interests are to be respected, & Bishops & Clergymen will continue, for their lives, to fulfil their present duties, there will be little apparent change in the existing state of things.—

But she observes that after the passing of the Act all further appointments to Benefices in Ireland are at once to cease, & she w^{ld} ask : what will be the position, in that case, on the death of the incumbent, of Parishes in w^h the population is far the greater part, if not exclusively Protestants ? For, till a new Governing body shall be formed in w^h instead of, in the Crown & the present Patrons, the Queen supposes all future appointments to the Episcopal Church in Ireland, will be vested, there will be no power, it seems, any where to make any fresh appointment.—And, what prospect is there of speedily affecting the mutual & voluntary agreement of Bishops, Clergy & Laity, on w^h the Constitution of the new body is to depend ?

The Queen concludes also that this new body when constituted, will have to regulate the number of Bishops to be retained, the mode of naming or electing them &c. &c. for she gathers from what Mr. Gladstone says of the "supremacy of the Crown not depending on its patronage" that he does not contemplate their nomination by the Crown.—

She only hopes that we shall not be exposed at home to the unseemly spectacle of rival Bishops, at the head of fiercely contending parties, w^h is now exhibited at the Cape.

The Queen cannot but fear that to take from the Crown the nomination of Bishops in Ireland & to deprive the Episcopal Church in that Country of the control now exercised over it by the State, will only be the prelude to farther troubles & divisions, w^h may ultimately prove fatal to the continued existence of the Established Church even in England itself.

Why c^{ld} not the Episcopal Church have been left in Ireland, deprived of all exclusive privileges, & deprived also of whatever property cannot be shown to belong to it, without dispute, in its character as a Protestant body—as part of the English Church? The Gov^t still regulating the number of Bishops to be retained, & the Queen exercising the same patronage w^h she does in most of the Colonies?

The Queen will not enter into the question of the future distribution of the property till Mr. Gladstone is able to state more decidedly what is proposed.

The Queen can only add that if she can be of any assistance to Mr. Gladstone in bringing about a *really* satisfactory settlement of this question, always supposing that the measure in its final shape, is *such* as she can *conscientiously approve*, he may *entirely* depend upon her affording it.

96 (Copy) Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 580-3.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 1. 1869. *Midnight.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and proceeds to answer to the best of his ability the inquiries contained in the letter which he has had the honour to receive this evening from Your Majesty. He must however at the outset tender to Your Majesty his grateful acknowledgment for the assurance conveyed in that letter—I. Your Majesty will observe

that a Bill, drawn according to the outline submitted, and passed into law, would take effect forthwith, so far as regards the suspension of appointments to Bishoprics, Dignities and Benefices and so far as regards the removal of disabilities affecting the existing Bishops and Clergy ; but would not take effect until a future day, to be named in the Bill, so far as regards the main change to be effected in the condition and property of the Established Church.

The law now in force, slightly aided by provisions in the suspensory clauses, would make full provision for the discharge of duty in the vacant sees or Benefices.

Secondly : It is contemplated that, between the framing of the Act and the day to be named in it a new Body would be formed by the voluntary action of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, capable of making the arrangement required for conducting the affairs of the Church.

Your Majesty is apparently apprehensive that this could not be effected in a short time. Mr. Gladstone does not think that Parliament would be niggardly in fixing the measure of this period. The time contemplated by the sketch in Your Majesty's hands is a little short of eighteen months—this might if necessary be enlarged. But it would not be desirable for the sake of the Church to prolong beyond what necessity may require a period which must be one of transition and suspense.

Thirdly : Your Majesty is pleased to ask what prospect there would be of speedy agreement among them ? On this head Mr. Gladstone takes leave to observe that, in the Colonies generally, no difficulty has been found in agreeing upon the details of ecclesiastical arrangements : and that, though doctrinal divisions might lead to schism, happily there is perhaps less prospect of such divisions in the Irish Church, than in any portion of the Anglican Communion. Up to the present time, there has been no indication whatever of a tendency to separation either internally, or in relation to the English Church.

Fourthly : Without doubt the supremacy of the Crown does not require that Bishops should be nominated by the Crown. In some, however, of those Colonies, where the Church has been either partially or wholly disestablished, the nomination of Bishops remains, as Mr. Gladstone believes, with the Crown. Such an arrangement, if effected by the free will of the Church is not excluded by the sketch. All that it does is to remove all

constraint, and to set the disestablished body free ; but it does not present the manner in which that body shall use its freedom.

Fifthly : Your Majesty is pleased to enquire whether the Irish Church could not be left, with all the property which can be shown to belong to it as a Protestant Body, to remain as part of the Church of England ?

With respect to property, it is proposed by the sketch, that all property, which has not been given by the State, shall remain with the Church after disestablishment. Of the property given by the State, the great bulk dates from before the Reformation.

To give to the disestablished Church the small portion of property conferred by the State since the Reformation might give colour to a dangerous claim on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to be reinstated in possession of the property presented to it by the State before the Reformation : and from this claim it might be difficult, on principles of equal dealing to escape. With respect to the continuance of the Irish Church as part of the Church of England, Mr. Gladstone is not sure that he fully apprehends Your Majesty's meaning. Judging, however, both from what has happened in Scotland, and otherwise, Mr. Gladstone believes that the moral influence and attractive power of the Church of England over the Church of Ireland will continue to be great, indeed that it is likely to increase in the new state of things : but that in any attempt to place the Church of Ireland in subordination to the Church of England would be resented and opposed by the Church of Ireland which has always claimed nationality, and enjoyed historical independence. Mr. Gladstone moreover is not without serious fears that any attempt to attach the Church of Ireland, however reduced by the links of law, to the Church of England more closely than it is now attached, would tend seriously to endanger the Church of England and to bring its existence into real controversy, in lieu of the speculative controversy which now alone exists concerning it. With regard to the disposal of the property after meeting just claims, Mr. Gladstone observing Your Majesty's language thinks he shall be but fulfilling his duty by consulting the Cabinet upon the several alterations named in No. 30 of the paper No. 11. Viewing the difficulties which attach to these alternative methods respectively, Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that the relief of unavoidable calamity and

suffering offers the least exceptionable mode of application, and he thinks the Cabinet may probably concur in this opinion.

Finally with respect in general to schemes which contemplate simply a reduction of the Establishment of Ireland, Mr. Gladstone would humbly call Your Majesty's attention to the fact that they do not receive countenance from the members of the Established Church in Ireland, nor give satisfaction to his opponents, and that there exists no body of opinion, nor means of forming any, which could apparently offer any likelihood of carrying a measure founded on that basis.

97 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *Feb. 3. 1869.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports to Your Majesty that he has this morning seen Sir W. Jenner, who communicated to him on the part of Your Majesty that Your Majesty was disposed to take no personal share in the opening of Parliament on the 16th, both from an anxiety to avoid any appearance of personal interference in the great question pending with respect to the Irish Church either in one sense or another, and also from consideration connected with the state of Your Majesty's health.

Mr. Gladstone will undertake, although the subject has never been mentioned among the ministers generally, to state on the part of his colleagues as well as on his own, that they will make no attempt to press upon Your Majesty the opening of Parliament. The Government would however fall short of their duty if they kept back from Your Majesty's knowledge trustworthy information from the Heads of the Police bearing upon this subject, which they thought it right to obtain. Mr. Bruce will accordingly have the honour to transmit by the Post the substance of that information; and this duty will be discharged with the less reluctance, that it contains nothing which can be unacceptable to Your Majesty. Your Majesty will thus have the means of judgment so far as they are at the command of the Government, and will also consider whether weight should be given to any expectation perhaps raised in the public mind by some unauthorised paragraphs that have recently appeared, and that are probably due to no other origin than the desire that the event which they venture to predict, should happen.

Mr. Gladstone need not now trouble Your Majesty with reference to the remainder of Sir W. Jenner's communication, to which he paid respectful attention, further than to say that he much rejoices at the efforts which Your Majesty proposes to make, and cordially trusts they may not be attended with any undue strain on Your Majesty's health.

98

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 4. 1869.

. . . The Queen wishes to say—that She has rec^d Mr. Bruce's letter & that it has rather distressed her.

The Queen did *not* fear any disagreeable demonstration tho' there might have been some *cries*, but she has thought it right—feeling as *she must own* she does on the *subject* of the Irish Church, *not* to take a *personal* Part till after this question has been settled—in the Opening of Parl^t & she feels this the more—as she herself told Mr. Disraeli—that had *he* been successful in the late Election—she w^{ld} *equally* have abstained from appearing in person.

The Queen must therefore ask that the subject be dropped w^h she must however admit was *never* BROACHED by Mr. Gladstone or any of her ministers.

Quite independently however of this, the Queen has been so extremely unwell lately . . . & feels so weak & nervous—that it w^{ld} be quite impossible for her to undertake the *very great* exertion, of going to open Parl^t *now*; she must try & keep as quiet as she can to enable her to go thro' the coming exertions in London. She has besides the anxiety of P^{ness} Christian's approaching Confinement, w^h with the weight of public business & the anxiety of this pending function in Parl^t *press* very hard upon her & make her heart often sink within her, for the sense of growing fatigue & exhaustion.

Perhaps Mr. Gladstone w^{ld} have it put into the papers to prevent further disapp^t caused by that *stupid & unauthorised* announcement that it was understood that the Queen was *not* going to open Parl^t in person *this* year & might add if he thought right that the Queen had been more than normally suffering from severe headache—& was thereby precluded from making this exertion *this* year.—

Mr. Gladstone cannot be aware how upset the Queen is with the slightest agitation or worry.

It affects her *whole* frame & causes severe effects for long after.

99 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *Feb. 4. 1869.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and in obedience to Your Majesty's command he will carefully consider in what manner it may be best to deal with any expectations that may have been raised by unauthorised announcements in the public journals, so as to obviate any similar error, and the inconvenient consequences which follow.

Mr. Gladstone prays to be allowed to assure Your Majesty that he is deeply and habitually sensible, how great are the burdens entailed by Your Majesty's exalted station, and by its manifold, weighty and incessant obligations. He could not be a party to lightening them by withholding from Your Majesty any information which ought to be submitted for Your Majesty's independent judgment, and of the withholding of which, if the effect were injurious, Your Majesty would be entitled to complain.

On the other hand he hopes never to add to the weight of those cares by his own undutiful hasty indifference, or neglect; and to be able to lighten them in the smallest degree he would deem to be the highest honour. In the present instance he will not only obey Your Majesty's desire but will do so in the spirit of humble but earnest co-operation and concurrence.

100

*Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*OSBORNE. *Feb. 5. 1869.*

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone very much for the kind letter she rec^d this morn^g—She is sorry & annoyed to have had to speak of *herself* so much, but as her *object* is to *try & enable* her to go on working for the benefit of her Children, Country & Friends & to do so *as long* as she can—she is *bound* to do every thing to secure that object. It is therefore of importance that there sh^{ld} be no *concealment* of the impossibility of undue *exertion* & of the paramount necessity of periodic changes of air—& of *comparative* rest; that is, *comparative* absence from over-excitement & constant interruptions.

Complete rest, the Queen (perhaps the *only person* who cannot do so) *never* has.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 6. 1869.

. . . She quite approves, indeed it is her earnest wish that Mr. Gladstone sh^d bring his proposals before the Cabinet without delay, so that the result of their deliberations may be laid before her in time to enable her to consider it without hurry, before the time comes for submitting a measure to Parliament.

The Queen had quite understood the difference between the parts of the measure w^h w^d come immediately & only prospectively into operation, as Mr. Gladstone now explains it. And it was in contemplation of this difference, & of the time that might elapse between the occurrence of vacancies in certain cases, & the Constitution of any Body with power to fill up such vacancies, that she had been struck by the possible hardship upon Parishes where the Protestant element prevailed.—Mr. Gladstone now says that provision will be made for such cases & the Queen is satisfied with this assurance.

Mr. Gladstone also thinks that there is less probability of such an agreement between the Clergy & Laity as will enable the new Governing Body to be constituted, being prevented by internal divisions in Ireland, than in any other part of the Queen's dominions; the Queen can only hope Mr. Gladstone is not too sanguine in his expectations.

What the Queen meant by asking whether the Irish Church might not continue to form part of the Church of England, was simply, that while it *ceased*, in *Ireland*, to be the *State Church*, or to retain any exclusive privileges, it might *still* be *governed* by the *Laws* to w^h the *English Church* is subject in respect of *doctrine* & *Gov^t*—& that the nomination to the Irish Bishoprics w^h sh^d be retained, might still remain with the Crown.—The Queen cannot see that in such an arrangement there w^d be anything of w^h other communions c^d complain—or w^h w^d imply any inferiority in the Irish Church to that of England.

Mr. Gladstone's reason for thinking it inexpedient to continue to the Irish Church *any* portion of the property conferred by the State, even tho' conferred since the Reformation, seems quite conclusive.

The Queen must also admit that what he says of the improbability of any measure for the mere reduction of the Establish-

ment finding favour with any Party seems only too likely to be correct.—

102

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

(Printed in *Life of Gladstone*, II, 261.)

OSBORNE. Feb. 12. 1869.

The Queen has seen the Bishop of Peterborough¹ according to the suggestion made by Lord Granville with the sanction of Mr. Gladstone, & has communicated to him in the strictest confidence the correspondence w^h had passed between herself & Mr. Gladstone on the subject of the Irish Church.

She now sends Mr. Gladstone a copy of the remarks made by the Bishop on the papers w^h she placed in his hands for perusal, & w^{ld} earnestly entreat Mr. Gladstone's careful & dispassionate consideration of what he says.—

She w^{ld} point especially to the suggestion w^h the Bishop throws out of the intervention of the Bench of English Bishops. The Country w^{ld} feel that any negotiation conducted under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury² w^{ld} be perfectly safe & from the concessions w^h the Bishop of Peterborough expresses his own readiness to make, the Queen is sanguine in her hope that such negotiations w^{ld} result in a settlement of the question on conditions w^h w^{ld} entirely redeem the pledges of the Gov^t & be satisfactory to the Country.

The Queen must therefore strongly deprecate the hasty introduction of the measure w^h w^{ld} serve only to commit the Gov^t to proposals from w^h they c^{ld} not afterwards recede, while it is *certain*, from what the Bishop says, that they w^{ld} not be accepted on the other side—& that an acrimonious contest w^{ld} be begun, w^h however it ended, w^{ld} make any satisfactory settlement of the question impossible.

103

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 13. 1869.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's 2 letters & the Draft of the Speech w^h she approves, & *particularly* the words expressing her hope that the aim of Parl^t w^{ld} be "to efface the memory of former contentions" w^h seem to strengthen

¹ William Connor Magee.

² Archibald Campbell Tait.

what the Queen has already said of the importance of not introducing the measure without full deliberation.

The Queen is much vexed at not having answered as she fully intended doing the very day she heard from Mr. Gladstone about the Council.—But she has been overwhelmed with work of all kinds & suffering continually from headache.

104

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 14. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his long letter & is much gratified & relieved by the conciliatory spirit expressed throughout his explanations on this most difficult & important question. The Queen thinks it w^{ld} indeed be most desirable for him to see the Archbishop of Canterbury—& she is quite ready to write to the Archbishop to inform him of her wish & of Mr. Gladstone's readiness to accede to it, sh^{ld} he wish it. The Queen returns the copy of the Bishop of Peterborough's Mem^m w^h she thinks Mr. Gladstone might find it convenient to keep.

The Queen has telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone her wish that he sh^{ld} not arrive here later than $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12.

105 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 14. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and has had the honour to receive Your Majesty's letter of yesterday, together with a memorandum, by messenger.

He has endeavoured to gather the purport as well of the Bishop of Peterborough's memorandum, as of Your Majesty's wish in regard to the great subject of the Irish Church.

Mr. Gladstone of course regards the memorandum as in the strictest sense confidential. He understands it to be Your Majesty's desire, that the English Bench of Bishops should, under the Archbishop of Canterbury, consider what are the terms on which they could advise their Episcopal brethren in Ireland to concur in a measure for the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

In proof that Mr. Gladstone has been desirous to encourage friendly communications with the Episcopal Bench upon this question, he takes leave to state that on the 2nd of last December, he had the honour of his first interview with Your Majesty in

reference to the formation of a Government, and that one of his first acts after the Government was formed was to address on his own responsibility a letter, dated December 14, to the Archbishop of Dublin, of which he presumes to forward a copy. The communications suggested in that letter were courteously but unequivocally declined ; and no reference to the English Bench or readiness to take counsel in that quarter, has ever been signified to him on the part of the Bishops of Ireland. Indeed it is within his knowledge that some advice from an individual member of the English Bench has even been rejected.

Two very precious months have thus passed away ; and have brought Your Majesty's advisers to the very verge of the occasion, when the honourable redemption of their pledges is expected, and when the conditions indispensable for the satisfactory conduct of a great measure, must be either fulfilled or compromised.

It is still Mr. Gladstone's own wish, and he doubts not that his colleagues would readily consent, to receive communications from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brethren, with a view to a tranquil and early settlement of this momentous question. Sixteen days yet remain, before the date contemplated by the Government for the introduction of their Bill, during which it might be sufficiently learned, whether such communications could at once take effect, in the original framing of the measure. . . .

The lapse of time, and the policy pursued in Ireland, have thus rendered delay inadmissible, unless it were arrived at in the manner already suggested, and during the interval which yet remains. For any attempt on the part of Your Majesty's advisers to gain time, except with a definite expectation of results such as the world at large would appreciate, would be deeply resented : and would act in the most injurious manner on that confidence from the large majority of the House of Commons, on which they must rely very greatly for the attainment of a great object of Imperial policy.

But the communications graciously desired by Your Majesty would be heartily welcomed by Mr. Gladstone. . . .

In concluding this too long letter, Mr. Gladstone has only to state that he will undertake most readily either to receive or to call upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, should it be Your Majesty's pleasure : and that he proposes to attend the Council

at Osborne on Monday at one, or to appear there at an earlier hour if he receives any commands to that effect.

106 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 17. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that the business of the Session opened last night with a discussion on the Address which did not last for more than two hours and was in all respects satisfactory. Mr. Disraeli expressed his desire that the coming proposals of the Government in relation to the Church of Ireland should be approached in a candid spirit. It would however of course be premature to draw conclusions from any general expressions used at this early date.

Mr. Gladstone humbly thanks Your Majesty for a copy of Your Majesty's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It appears to Mr. Gladstone to be exactly suited to the occasion. Mr. Gladstone returns it herewith.

107 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Feb. 19. 1869.

The Queen is deeply grieved that her intention to receive the Addresses of the 2 Houses of Parl^t is frustrated *not* by her own & *personal* incapacity—but by the indisposition of our dear Child Leopold. Sir W^m Jenner has written to Mr. Gladstone to explain the state of the case & *how* impossible it is for the Queen to leave him.—

At present there is no cause for *alarm* or *positive* danger, but after last year—we must feel anxious & the Queen w^{ld} not feel justified (nor w^{ld} she be easy a moment) in leaving him while this state continues.

Mr. Gladstone must express her regret & that the indisposition of P^{ce} Leop^d prevents her leaving Osborne.

108 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 19. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and has learned with the deepest concern the cause of Your Majesty's

detention at Osborne, which on first hearing of it he had hoped might be momentary, and due to some trivial circumstance.

Unhappily Your Majesty's communication arrived just after the hour at which it would have been possible to make a direct communication to Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone has directed a paragraph to be sent to the newspapers, so worded as to acquaint the world that the presentation of the addresses cannot take place on Monday, without either creating or putting an actual negative on the hope that they may be presented personally on a later day. Mr. Gladstone also had the opportunity of at once consulting Lord Granville, [who] was unwilling to dispose of the whole question at once, as he thought Your Majesty ought to be informed that the announcement of the gracious intention had been even more warmly appreciated than he had at first supposed ; and two excellent witnesses, the Speaker and Mr. Glyn, who had not anticipated the amount of interest it would create, are now surprised at it. All that will be requisite will be that before the Houses meet on Monday Your Majesty should command any announcement then to be made, either of a postponement for further consideration, or of an abandonment of the plan, or, should circumstances happily permit it, which on every ground Mr. Gladstone is bound to hope, of a later day appointed for the purpose of receiving the addresses. Your Majesty's directions, whatever they may be, will as Mr. Gladstone need hardly add be exactly obeyed.

In any case Mr. Gladstone trusts Your Majesty's anxiety may very speedily be relieved. Mr. Gladstone takes leave to add that he this day detailed at great length to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the strictest secrecy the leading outlines of the measure respecting the Irish Church as they now stand for final consideration of the Cabinet.

109

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

[Telegram]

Feb. 20. 1869.

Impossible to name a day for receiving the addresses as may be detained for a week here—no present cause for alarm—please put off reception of addresses and express my deep regret at being unable to receive them in person.

110 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 20 Feb. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and acknowledges with much concern the telegram which he has had the honour to receive from Your Majesty this day. Mr. Gladstone will in strict conformity with the terms of his letter, inform the House of Commons of the circumstances, when the House meets on Monday, and of the deep regret which Your Majesty has graciously expressed at the impossibility of fixing a day when the addresses of the two Houses might be received by Your Majesty in Person.

Many members of the House will regret the loss of an opportunity of testifying loyal respect, but all will deeply lament the cause of the failure. The Cabinet has to-day made some modifications in its plan for the Irish Church which are of a nature conformable, on the points which they touch, to such views as Your Majesty could approve. Mr. Gladstone refers especially to the disposal of the Churches, and to the suspensory provisions. . . .

111 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Feb. 21. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his 3 kind letters. She is thankful to say our dear Child is progressing most favourably & please God ! If nothing fresh sh^{ld} accrue w^h Sir W^m Jenner does not apprehend, we may be able to go to Windsor on Friday or Saturday.

The Queen rejoices to hear of Mr. Gladstone's interview with the Archbishop & of the changes made in the proposed measure.—

She has *not yet* heard from the Archbishop, but hopes to do so shortly.

112 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 22 Feb. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that he this day submitted to the House of Commons a statement conformable to Your Majesty's commands, and that an order was made that the address of the House should be presented to Your Majesty through the Privy Council in the usual manner. Mr. Gladstone is rejoiced to hear that nothing has

occurred to give an unfavourable turn to the Prince Leopold's illness.

Mr. Gladstone has postponed submitting to Your Majesty for the last three days any recommendations, but he now ventures to submit a memorandum, in duplicate, as approved by Your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone also now presumes to convey to Your Majesty his brother, Sir Thomas Gladstone's humble and dutiful thanks for Your Majesty's condescension in making inquiries respecting his daughter. The recent accounts have given good hope of her recovery: and Mr. Gladstone understands that amidst the early indications of her return to consciousness, which is as yet only partial, she was heard to murmur the words "the Queen" and "the Good Queen." She had not been informed of Your Majesty's inquiries, not being indeed able to receive information of any kind. Your Majesty will pardon these few words.

113

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 23. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone very much for his kind letter & can continue thank God! the favourable reports of our dear Child.

We hope to go to Windsor on Friday or Saturday—& to London D.V. on Wednesday remaining there, if all is well till the Saturday.—

The Queen rejoices to hear of the improvement in the state of Miss Gladstone, his niece.

The Queen wishes Mr. Gladstone to read a letter from the King of the Belgians w^h she sent Ld. Clarendon yesterday.

114 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 26. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly acquaints Your Majesty that further questions were this day put to Mr. Cardwell¹ respecting the War Department.

Mr. Cardwell stated that H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge holds his office not for a limited time but during Your Majesty's pleasure: that the Secretary of State does not recommend for Commissions:

¹ Secretary of State for War.

that such patronage as remains in the army ought not to be transferred to a political officer: that for the Secretary of State to receive appeals from decisions of H.R.H. would not be consistent with military discipline, though in arduous cases reference was made to him, and though, in case discipline were to decay, he could not be exonerated from responsibility.

The Irish Church Bill is now in an advanced state. Mr. Gladstone proposes to state in the usual manner of routine, at the proper stage, subject to Your Majesty's judgment, the assent of the Crown to the dealing with its patronage in Ireland by Parliament. The Suspensory Clauses and those respecting churches and glebe-houses have been revised with care and with an anxious desire to do justice. It is believed that there will be no opposition to the introduction of the Bill on Monday.

115 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *Feb. 28. 1869.*

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind congratulations on the birth of her new grandson.¹ Both the P^{ness} & her boy (a remarkably fine child) are going on extremely well.

On acc^t of this event—& of P^{ce} Leopold's *not* being strong enough to go to Town this week—the Queen will only remain from Wednesday Mor^g till *after* the Levee on Friday Afternoon.—The following week she will probably remain 3 *nights*.

116 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. *March 13. 1869.*

. . . The Cabinet to-day considered the state of the Belgian Railway question; and Lord Clarendon² undertook to prepare a Draft Dispatch conveying to Paris officially what he has hitherto communicated privately through Lord Lyons³ and to the French Ambassador with respect to the effect likely to be produced in England by any general suspicion in the public mind of sinister designs on the part of France against Belgium. It was also thought desirable while this language is held at Paris, that at Brussels it should be understood that England must retain her freedom of action, and that the Belgian Government should be encouraged

¹ Albert, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, *d.* 1931, son of H.R.H. Princess Christian.

² Foreign Secretary.

³ Ambassador at Paris.

to persevere in moderate counsels, from which no over-reliance on a friendly neighbour should tempt her to deviate. . . .

117 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *April 5. 1869.*

. . . Mr. Gladstone has received Your Majesty's inquiry through General Grey respecting a knighthood for Signor Costa.¹ Mr. Gladstone is aware of no reason against it, and he will either tender it as by Your Majesty's special command, or leave it to Your Majesty to select any other channel.

118 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *April 9. 1869.*

The Queen w^{ld} be glad to see Mr. Gladstone at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 11 *tomorrow* before she leaves town, as she leaves Windsor for Osborne on Thursday or Friday next. She has the intention of conferring the Thistle on P^{ce} Arthur on the occasion of his *birthday*—as she thinks—considering we are so much in Scotland—that it is right they sh^{ld} have the order of the Country.

P^{ce} Alfred had it some time ago, & the P^{ce} of Wales 2 years ago. She also w^{ld} give P^{ce} Leopold the *Garler* at the same time.

He will be a year younger than his brothers were—but far older than the Queen's Uncles & Cousins were when they got it.—& the Queen thinks as the poor Child is so often suffering—debarred from every profession, & from almost every amusement of his age, & is the *cleverest* & most studious of our 4 sons, that this w^{ld} be a *great* gratification to him & give him much pleasure—w^h he *fully deserves*.

Perhaps Mr. Gladstone will give directions that the Insignia are sent to her before she leaves for Scotland in May.

119 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *April 16. 1869.*

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind inquiries about Leopold.

He is much better & it is only from the wish to give him 2 or 3 more days *rest* wh is necessary for the strain that we have delayed *from* motives of precaution going to Osborne till Tuesday. . . .

¹ Conductor of the Royal Italian Opera.

Nothing can—so far—be more successful than the visit of Arthur to Ireland. His Irish name will have a wonderful effect.

120 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

(Partly printed in *Life of Gladstone*, II, 316-18.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *April 17. 1869.*

I have received your letter¹ of this day and the accompanying papers which you forward by Her Majesty's command. The Queen's kindness of heart causes her to make the supposition that her Foreign Minister is annoyed a matter of concern and annoyance to Herself. I can with confidence take it upon me to say that there was no such feeling in Lord Clarendon's mind when he despatched the letter of the 16th which I return herewith. And though the brevity of his account in his letter of the 13th of his interview with Marshal Saldanha² may assume the appearance of abruptness, I am sure this is merely owing to that rush of business which often compels a succinctness in the forms of communication not abstractedly desirable as between a subject and a sovereign, but not always to be avoided unless at the expense of interfering with what the Queen would greatly and highly prize, the promptitude of her Minister in apprising Her of matters in which Her Majesty feels a great and deep interest.

Apart however from this question of the moment, there is one more important as to the tone in which it is to be desired that, where matter of controversy has arisen on the Continent of Europe, the diplomatic correspondence of this country should be carried on.

This more important question may be the subject of difference in the country, but I observe with joy that Her Majesty approves the general principles which Lord Clarendon sets forth in his letter of the 16th. I do not believe that England ever will or can be unfaithful to her great traditions, or can forswear her interest in the common transactions and the general interests of Europe.

But her credit and her power form a fund, which in order that they may be made the most of, should be thriftily used.

The effect of the Great Revolutionary War was to place England

¹ Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2), I, 592-3, and referring to a difficulty with Portugal.

² Portuguese Minister in London.

in a position to rely upon the aid of her resources. This was no matter of blame to either party : it was the result of a desperate struggle of over twenty years in which everyone else was down in his turn, but England was ever on her feet ; in which it was found that there was no ascertained limit either to her means, or to her disposition to dispense them in which to use the language of Mr. Canning her flag was always flying " a signal of rallying to the Combatant, and of shelter to the fallen." The *habit* of appeal, and of reliance thus engendered by peculiar circumstances, requires to be altered by a quiet and substantial though not a violent process. For though Europe never saw England faint away, *we* know at what a cost of internal danger to the union, and to all the Institutions of the Country, she fought her way to the perilous eminence, on which she undoubtedly stood in 1815.

If there be a fear abroad that England has for ever abjured a resort to force other than moral force, is that fear justified by facts ? In 1853 joining with France, we made ourselves the vindicators of the peace of Europe : and ten years later be it remembered in the case of Denmark we officially offered to perform the same office, but we could get no one to join us.

Is it desirable that we should go further ? Is England so uplifted in strength above every other nation that she can with prudence advertise herself as ready to undertake the general redress of wrongs ? Would not the consequence of such professions and promises be either the premature exhaustion of her means, or a collapse in the day of performance ? Is *any* Power at this time of to-day warranted in assuming to itself this comprehensive obligation ? Of course the answer is, no : but do not on the other hand allow it to be believed that England will never interfere. For the eccentricities of other men's belief, no one can answer ; but for any reasonable belief in such an abnegation on the part of England, there is no ground whatever.

As I understand Lord Clarendon's ideas they are fairly represented by his very important diplomatic communications since he has taken office : and they proceed upon such grounds as these : that England should keep entire in her own hands the means of estimating her own obligations upon the various states of facts as they arise ; that she should not preclose and narrow her own liberty of choice by declarations made to other Powers, in their real or supposed interests, of which they would claim to be at

least joint interpreters; that it is dangerous for her to assume alone an advanced, and therefore an isolated position, in regard to European controversies, that come what may it is better for her to promise too little than too much: that she should not encourage the weak by giving expectations of aid, to resist the strong, but should rather seek to deter the strong, by firm but moderate language, from oppression on the weak; that she should seek to develop and mature the action of a common or public or European opinion, as the best standing bulwark against worry, but should beware of seeming to lay down the law of that opinion by her own authority, and thus running the risk of setting against her, and against right and justice that general sentiment which ought to be and generally would be amazed in their favour.

I am persuaded that at this juncture opinions of this colour being true and sound, are also the only opinions which the country is disposed to approve. But I do not believe that on that account it is one whit less disposed than it has been at any time to cast in its lot upon any fitting occasion with the cause it believes to be right.

And I own frankly that I [am] not well satisfied that the letter of Lord A. Loftus¹ was in perfect harmony with these sentiments. I think its language was at least capable of being interpreted to recommend a lavish and premature expenditure of that moral authority of England which undoubtedly presupposes physical force in its rear, but which cannot be sustained by physical force alone, still less by the physical force of a single Power.

The Queen I know considers that the despatch which Lord Clarendon by desire of the Cabinet sent some time ago to Paris, when the Belgian difficulty gave great cause for alarm, but showed a true sense of the responsibility and power of this country with respect to European difficulties. In the tenour of that despatch I cordially concurred: but I think that circumstances less grave, than those which required such a declaration, would not have justified it.

I am confident that the Queen would not desire more than was contained and implied in it: and I feel confident that neither the Cabinet generally, nor Lord Clarendon in particular, would wish Her Majesty to be satisfied with *less*. I therefore hope and feel assured, Her Majesty will believe that Lord Clarendon really

¹ Ambassador at Berlin.

requires no intimation from me to ensure his steadily maintaining the tone which becomes the Foreign Minister of the Queen.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. May 1. 1869.

The Queen charged Lord De Grey¹ & Gl. Grey to speak to Mr. Gladstone, & to tell him how indignant she was at the conduct of the Mayor of Cork, whom she only *lately* rec^d at the Levee, contrary, in fact, to what many people thought right considering his previous conduct. The Queen expects that her Gov^t will take such measures as are necessary to *show* that treasonable language of this kind *cannot & must* not go unpunished.

The Queen thinks the state of Ireland very serious, & she cannot but repeat her firm conviction that the measure respecting the Irish Church now before Parl^t has had the very *opposite* effect of calming & conciliating Ireland.

It is, however, now too late to discuss that ;—but the Gov^t *must* show firmness & energy—without w^h we shall be despised abroad & disobeyed at home.

The Queen thinks that for many years—the state of Ireland has not been so alarming as it is now. The liberation of the Fenian Prisoners was a great misfortune. It is universally condemned & if no steps be taken respecting the Mayor of Cork—the Gov^t will indeed appear to be powerless.

The murders are becoming more & more frequent !

122 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 595–6.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. May 1. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly thanks Your Majesty for the Telegram by which it was followed.

The case of the Mayor of Cork has been viewed by the Government from the first as one of great gravity ; which Your Majesty would not fail to perceive from the circumstance that Mr. Gladstone troubled Your Majesty with a reference to it immediately after he had become acquainted with the telegraphic account. Though the individual may be insignificant, he represents public

¹ Lord President of the Council.

authority, for local purposes, in the second city of Ireland and whatever licence may be permitted to private persons, it is intolerable that law should be insulted, and social morality outraged, from the Chair of Justice. Your Majesty may rest assured that this affair will be prosecuted with care and diligence.

Your Majesty's Advisers have been censured in the House of Lords because they did not with a foolish precipitancy introduce a Land Bill for Ireland, while they were engaged with the Church Bill. But in the House of Commons Lord Stanley last night with candour acknowledged that they had judged and acted rightly in this particular.

Your Majesty's Advisers deeply regret the recurrence of agrarian outrages in Ireland; but they can feel no surprise at it. The movements of disease cannot be predicted with precision, either in individuals or nations: and this class of crime in Ireland partakes, much more largely than is common, of the nature of disease. Individual depravity has less to do with it, evil tradition more. The Government do not regard this as a reason for relaxing measures either preventive or punitive, for the safety of society: but it prevents them from looking upon the evil as one to be cured by a summary remedy. The full fruits of the work they have undertaken, supposing their judgment to be right, can only be reaped in the future. They could not rationally have entered on that work with any other view; and the patience of years, if not of generations, may be required in order to repair consequences which have come from the perverseness of centuries. But in proportion as measures of justice have heretofore been extended to Ireland, affection has been conciliated in those classes which felt the relief; and when those measures of justice come to embrace the whole people more completely than at present, there is no reason to suppose them to be so incapable of natural and human sentiments as that they should continue to be a source of danger, instead of a stay, to Your Majesty's Throne and Government.

123

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. May 1. 1869.

The Queen has just rec^d Mr. Gladstone's 2nd letter by special messenger having rec^d the other by her *own*.

She is much pleased & relieved at the intelligence conveyed in it of the decision come to by the Cabinet on the subject of Ireland.

—& the conduct of the Mayor of Cork as well as relation to the fearful murders.—

The acct^s rec^d of p^{ce} Arthur's reception at Belfast today are excellent. . . .

124 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. May 6. 1869.

The Queen is glad to hear of the introduction of the Bill to remove the Mayor of Cork. . . .

125 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 599-600.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. May 29. 1869.

. . . Lord Clarendon mentioned to the Cabinet that he had transmitted to General Grey a letter from the Consul General at Venice respecting the visit of the Viceroy of Egypt to this country, and had requested General Grey to take Your Majesty's pleasure ; but there had been no time for him to hear the result. He also pointed out that an article in the Times had contained what was equivalent to an announcement that the Viceroy was to be received at Buckingham Palace. He had learnt that the Suite was small, not exceeding 7 or 8 persons, and that the stay of the Viceroy in this country was to be of about 7 days.

It appeared to the Cabinet that this announcement in an important journal, of the source of which they were wholly ignorant, was somewhat embarrassing, and would have tended to create expectations in the public mind of a nature anticipating Your Majesty's decision. At the same time Mr. Gladstone has humbly to report that they did not doubt that the reception of the Viceroy under Your Majesty's roof at Buckingham Palace would give much satisfaction ; nor did it appear to them in what manner any other arrangement equally acceptable could be made.

126 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 600-1.)

BALMORAL. June 1. 1869.

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for 3 letters.

With respect to the Vice Roy's visit, of w^h the Queen knew *nothing*—Lord Clarendon will have shown Mr. Gladstone the letter w^h he wrote by the Queen's command.

The Queen can only repeat what is stated herein & what is the truth.

At the same time if the Vice Roy's visit, is of short duration, & if his Suite is small—the Queen will on *this occasion*, in *return for the marked civilities* of the Vice Roy to the P^{ce} & P^{ness} of Wales, offer to lodge him there—and w^{ld} naturally receive him for a day & a night at Windsor—as well as invite him to the Breakfast at B. Palace on the 25th. But the Queen must strongly *protest agst* the pretension raised that she sh^{ld} at her *own expense*, in the *only Palace* of her own—w^h she may come to at *any time*, & w^h is constantly used for her own family—*entertain* all Foreign Potentates *who chose* to come here for their own amusement.

Lord Russell & Lord Palmerston both strongly felt, that as a *Lady without a Husband*, with all the weight of Gov^t thrown upon her, with weakened health, *quite incapable* of bearing the *fatigue* of representation, she *could* not be expected to entertain Princes, as formerly. Consequently she *cannot invite* them. It makes her quite ill, to be *unable* to do the *right thing*—& yet she *cannot* do so.

But this question is *always now arising* (w^h never did formerly) & we never except perhaps in one instance lodged people *whom* we did not invite & *if the country does wish* (which it *certainly did not* formerly, as it seemed not much to *wish* for Royal Visitors to come *here then*,)—these Royal Personages to be rec^d & entertained let the Gov^t buy a House, w^h may be called a Palace & give the Sovereign the additional means of entertaining or *at least* maintaining them in it. *Every other* Sovereign *HAS Palaces* in numbers—with servants in w^h they can lodge any Royal Personages—but this *NEVER* has been the case in this country.—& if this *is to be*, the *means* must be found & furnished for it, & the matter *set at rest for the future*.

It w^d take the Queen *too long* to point out to Mr. Gladstone, *how impossible* it w^{ld} be for the Queen to keep up 2 Establishments for, her *own*, does *not* suffice for it; & how totally unprecedented in her Reign, the lodging of Visitors, not invited, is.—

It is most insolent of the Times to *dictate* what is to be done, & the Queen expects that on this occasion the Gov^t will take care that it is understood that the Queen in return for the civilities shown to the P. of Wales, will invite him to the Palace,—tho' she had *not* asked him to come to England.

The Queen cannot refrain from saying to Mr. Gladstone, that

all the good, w^h she w^{ld} derive (temporary tho' it will be) from the quick & good air here is destroyed by these irritating & worrying questions w^h every year are brought up & w^h she feels the more, as they are beyond her control, & coming annoyingly after she has been exerting herself so much as she has done this Spring in London & suffering so severely as she did from it.

Her health requires—alas! she feels daily—*more & more rest*, & she trusts to Mr. Gladstone & her Gov^t giving her that support & assistance without w^h she will be *unable* to do now what she has done. It may come to that now—that she may be *quite unable* to exert *herself* AT ALL,—for she becomes so *unwell* after any exertion now—& fears then she w^{ld} be unable to do the *real & important work* for the good of the Country.

Her writing is bad she fears—but her hand shakes much from the great agitation w^h anything of this kind causes her much shaken nervous system.

127 (Copy) Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 601-3.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 1 June. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and hereby thanks Your Majesty for the gracious intention answered by Your Majesty, under the special circumstances of the case, with respect to the Viceroy of Egypt.

It would have been Mr. Gladstone's desire, not less than his duty, to submit this question to Your Majesty in the first instance on his own responsibility, without any disturbing circumstance, such as had actually occurred when Mr. Gladstone wrote his letter of the 29th ult.

He regrets very much to have troubled Your Majesty with an appearance of abruptness and at a moment when, not to his knowledge at the time, Your Majesty might be suffering uneasiness by reason of the Princess Christian's unexpected inability to accomplish her intended journey to Balmoral.

But the announcement from Venice had already obliged Lord Clarendon to refer to Your Majesty, and the declaration in the Times newspaper, viewed by the Cabinet with the same feelings as by Your Majesty, and due to some cause which they could not conceive, created a situation in which it was incumbent upon them

humbly to lay before Your Majesty their view of the best means of avoiding the invidious comments which, after that declaration, were to be anticipated: particularly as the Viceroy might probably be proud to have expressed himself to others in terms similar to those which he employed in communication with the Consul. Mr. Gladstone is sure his colleagues will appreciate Your Majesty's decision, and also sure Your Majesty perceives that together with them he acted faithfully in suggesting to Your Majesty her best means, according to their judgment consciously formed on the spot, of avoiding inconvenience which might have caused Your Majesty serious pain.

Your Majesty may rely upon it that no intrusion upon Your Majesty's tranquillity will now or at any time be meditated, nor any additions to Your Majesty's unceasing cares proposed by Mr. Gladstone or the Cabinet, except for the avoidance of palpably greater evil, and in circumstances in which they shall feel assured that Your Majesty's own upright and enlightened judgment would, in their position and with their means of information, have recommended a similar course.

With regard to the general question of the visits, and especially the uninvited visits, of Foreign Sovereigns, Mr. Gladstone does not doubt that from the increased facilities of communication and the social and even political approximation of nations, it has assumed an increased importance. Mr. Gladstone will endeavour to obtain for himself and his Colleagues all the needful information bearing upon it, and they may then be in a condition to consider whether any new provisions should be adopted in regard to it.

Mr. Gladstone concludes by expressing the regret which it causes him to trouble Your Majesty with so long an explanation.

128

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. June 3. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind letter.

She has invariably found him most ready to enter into her views & to understand her feelings.

The Queen will at once give orders about lodging the Vice Roy, but not going to any extra expense—as it is indeed unnecessary. . . .

129 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey**Private.*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *June 3. 1869.*

Like you I am far from satisfied with the view which Sir W. Jenner takes of his position and duties, but I should be disposed, though with much inferior means of observation, to allow rather more than you do for reality in the Queen's ailments or risks of them. I have a strong sense of the weariness and shrinking of mind which the want of interruption in her work must produce, especially after she has stood for years and may look to stand for many more without anyone to fall back upon. Also the political circumstances of the present session have had for her a degree of difficulty which I trust is not likely to recur.

I will now find out about the City Function, and perhaps it would be well if you and I were to talk the matter over when you return to the South as soon as you happen to be in London, the general idea I have is *water* say from Vauxhall to the New Bridge : the short land *trajet* to the Farringdon Viaduct, and then back by the Metropolitan Railway to Paddington or on to Windsor. The whole would occupy a very limited time.

130 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *June 5. 1869.*

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, humbly thanks Your Majesty for the sketch of your intended movements contained in Your Majesty's gracious letter of the 5th.

The uncertain state of the political horizon leads Mr. Gladstone respectfully to express his hope that Your Majesty may be pleased to hold them subject to possible modification, in some particulars should a real need arise : although Mr. Gladstone trusts that nothing can happen of a nature to interfere with Your Majesty's return to Balmoral in the middle of August.

There is a minor subject, which Mr. Gladstone in consequence of information received this day from the Lord Mayor, is now in a condition to mention to Your Majesty. The Lord Mayor a short time ago represented to Mr. Gladstone, that the new bridge at Blackfriars would shortly be ready for opening ; that the great public works of the City of London have very commonly been opened under Royal countenance ; and that the last City Bridge, viz. the new London Bridge, was opened by King William IV.

Upon examining the matter, it appeared to Mr. Gladstone that if Your Majesty were graciously disposed to entertain the idea, and to open the new Bridge, it would have all these advantages :

That it would be very conformable to precedent.

That it would give great public satisfaction.

That it would occupy little time (under three hours) and entail little fatigue.

That it would show Your Majesty a series of great and interesting public works, most favourably suited for the purpose, as they lie in a circle, most of which Your Majesty has, as Mr. Gladstone believes, had up to the present time no opportunity of seeing. These are, the Embankment : the Bridge : the Viaduct : the Market (already known to Your Majesty) : and the Metropolitan Railway, of which the construction is most curious. Your Majesty would also see the site proposed for the New Law Courts, as an alternative to that in Carey Street.!

Mr. Gladstone will ask Mr. Layard to send to Balmoral a photograph of a beautiful drawing by Mr. Street showing the elevation he proposes.

In humbly submitting this matter to Your Majesty Mr. Gladstone has kept carefully in view the proportion of interest and advantage offered by the plan, which he thinks would be great to the time and exertion required.

Mr. Gladstone encloses a slight sketch which he has made to convey the general idea with as much clearness as possible ; not of course with a view to binding Your Majesty's judgment in any particular.

This sketch has the sanction of the Lord Mayor : but might possibly require slight modification, as the Lord Mayor's communications have been very limited, and Mr. Gladstone has impressed upon him the necessity of their being strictly confidential until Your Majesty's pleasure shall have been taken.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter of yesterday.

Of course if anything very pressing occurred she w^{ld} modify her plans by 2 or 3 days—but she *feels* she *must* have as much pure &

bracing air & quiet—as she can this year especially.—The Queen is sorry that it is quite *impossible* for her to comply with the wish expressed that she sh^{ld} open Blackfriars' bridge. The fatigue & excitement w^{ld} be *far too* great—as well as the heat—to w^h she cannot bear exposure.—

Let the P^{ce} of Wales be asked to do it in her name—or sh^{ld} he be unable P^{ce} Arthur.—

Ge^l Grey has written to Mr. Gladstone on the other important Subject.—She will do every thing she can to prevent a collision between the 2 Houses.

132 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

Private.

7 June. 1869.

I am desirous to get at the simple truth with regard to the Queen's health, and it is no easy matter, where my opportunities of observation are of course very limited and when Sir W. Jenner, the principal authority on the case, takes a view of his duty so narrow and unwise. Still the matters of fact which he reports . . . are such as it is not at first sight altogether easy to reconcile with your more sanguine view?

On the other hand will lies at the root of many human and especially of many feminine complaints.

I do not quite know on what grounds you conclude that the representation of the Cabinet had no influence whatever with the Queen in inducing her to receive the Viceroy: or how, if it be so, you reconcile this with your persuasion, which I should think a just one, that the Queen will more readily defer to the views of her responsible servants than to any other, even if nearer influence.

On Saturday morning I wrote fully to the Queen about the proposed function in the City of London: and expressed the hope that on account of political circumstances she would hold her plans for the summer a little open to reconsideration though I trusted nothing would occur to interfere with the return to Balmoral in the middle of August.

There is no doubt that Osborne during the Session is the great enemy: absence there is almost the same thing for the world as absence at Balmoral, and there is absolutely no compensation in the belief that the Queen derives a benefit from it. This is the mischief I should like to see abated.

133 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 9 June. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and has the honour to acknowledge Your Majesty's gracious letter of the 7th. All questions involving Your Majesty's health and capacity for effort must of necessity fall in the last resort under Your Majesty's sole cognizance. Yet Your Majesty would have just cause to reprove your confidential advisers as wanting in the truthfulness which Your Majesty values beyond all things, were they to fail in laying fully before Your Majesty the circumstances which may appear to them deserving of being weighed by Your Majesty before a final decision. Mr. Gladstone writes in his own name ; but he is firmly persuaded that all his Colleagues would concur in his humble representation.

Causes of which Mr. Gladstone recognizes the sufficiency, lead annually to Your Majesty's absence from London, at a great distance, in the heart of the Session of Parliament, when from time to time, as on this occasion, questions of the utmost public moment are at issue. It can never be the duty of one who has the honour to serve Your Majesty to close his eyes against facts : and Mr. Gladstone has not a doubt that at the present moment the exertions, which Your Majesty's wisdom has spontaneously prompted, to avert a collision between the two Houses of Parliament, would carry yet greater authority, had it happened that they could have been made on the spot.

It was with this subject in view, that Mr. Gladstone presumed to offer an observation on Your Majesty's plans for the remainder of the session.

With respect to the application from the Lord Mayor, Mr. Gladstone has, since he had the honour to assume his office, had to consider that, quite apart from any advantages in the transaction of business which arise from facilities for its personal submission, the appearance of the Sovereign in public from time to time upon occasions of great interest, while in exterior it is a mere form, is in reality among the substantial, and even in the long run indispensable means of maintaining the full influence of the Monarchy. For the maintenance of that influence it is Mr. Gladstone's duty to watch with the utmost jealousy : and he cannot dismiss from his mind the apprehension that, notwith-

standing by the constant and exemplary, but unseen attention to business, it may by a silent and gradual process be somewhat impaired during Your Majesty's general withdrawal from visible and sensible contact with the people of your realms.

Mr. Gladstone sees from time to time indications in the public journals, which were they once to become systematic, it would be extremely difficult to avert by any remedial measures. The *growth* of controversies on questions of this class cannot be stopped ; but their beginning may be averted.

Mr. Gladstone is sensible that all demands of this kind impose a heavy burden upon Your Majesty, and that it is not given to any to occupy the Throne of the British Empire without special and heavy sacrifices corresponding in some degree to the pre-eminence of so august a station.

All that is in his power is earnestly to avoid acceding to such demands except when they appear to be recommended by strong reasons, and especially when the good likely to be attained is great in proportion to the effort required.

This condition had appeared to Mr. Gladstone to be fully attained in this case ; if he is right in supposing that the only period of the proposed journey, which would be public in the sense of requiring effort, would be between the Landing at Blackfriars and the reaching the Metropolitan Railway, which could scarcely, he presumes, occupy a full hour.

Mr. Gladstone is not aware whether, in the event of his learning that Your Majesty refuses, the Lord Mayor would pray that the function should be performed by some member of the Royal Family. But Your Majesty is well aware that even the ceremonial duties of Your Majesty's high office cannot, unless by way of exception, be performed by delegation without loss of effect.

In conclusion Mr. Gladstone entreats Your Majesty's pardon if in this letter he has too much obtruded on the sphere of Your Majesty's personal action, through his fear of serious public evils, which he has been desirous not to exaggerate. Mr. Gladstone also humbly apologizes for the handwriting of his letter, as he writes it while still confined to bed.

134 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*
Private and Confidential.

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 9 June. 1869.

The Queen has written to me declining in pretty strong terms the overtures of the Lord Mayor.

I have replied admitting that such questions must be for Her Majesty's own sole ultimate decision but making a strong representation in favour of the plan; adverting to the evils of which you are so sensible: and likewise referring to the intended absence at Osborne, as to which the Queen says that if anything pressing occurs, she can modify her plans by two or three days.

As to the immediate point, if in your opinion, and in the opinion of others nearer still, I have erred in not asking enough, I certainly feel that after reducing what is asked to a minimum it is my duty at least to show Her Majesty that such proposals are neither lightly taken up nor lightly abandoned. I shall be glad of any information or suggestion from you. . . .

135 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Grey*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 10 June. 1869.

I have received your letter of yesterday and I only wish to except to it in one particular, that where you threaten silence. Believe me I am deeply sensible of the advantage to myself and the Government—to the country—and to the Queen most of all—of one having in your post so brave as well as so loyal a servant to the Crown: and I trust that whether on every occasion we may take precisely the same view of what is to be done at the moment or not, nothing will ever occur to prevent the freest and fullest communication between us. With reference to immediate action, our points of view cannot always be identical: but with reference to the general course of effort I believe we are quite of one mind.

Jenner has written by command to invite an interview.

I am glad of it, and I am to see him to-morrow. I shall then endeavour to put more fully and broadly upon him the protest which I have made against his mode of action. Perhaps his language to the Queen is better and wiser than might be inferred from his conversations with me. If it is not, I think he is seriously

responsible in these matters. For fanciful ideas of a woman about her own health, encouraged by a feeble-minded doctor, become realities to effect of producing in a considerable degree the incapacity which but for them would not exist.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. June 11. 1869.

The Queen has to acknowledge 2 of Mr. Gladstone's letters, & was very sorry to hear of his indisposition.

She thought she had clearly expressed that it was impossible for her to open Blackfriars Bridge—but as Mr. Gladstone seems still in doubt—she will repeat her sincere regret that it is *quite out of the question* for her to do anything of the kind in the heat of the summer.

In March, April or the 1st half of May the Queen might be able to undertake a *short* public ceremony in the Nov^r:—But she does not like to promise anything positively beforehand at any time.

Mr. Gladstone, she is glad to hear feels that in all things concerning her personal action & health—she *alone* can decide. Whatever she feels *capable* of doing & whatever seems to her of sufficient importance to justify her in making any g^t exertion (always now attended with bad consequences to her health) she will certainly do. But she has never on any single occasion neglected any one duty w. c^{ld} unfavourably affect the course of Political affairs; *wherever* she is,—she works hard for her Country & people—& on this recent occasion she c^{ld} have done no more than she has done.—

She will certainly not be very far away, if affairs sh^{ld} be in a very critical state,—in July & the early part of Aug. But she can do her duty quite as well in one part of her dominions as in another, and *has* for the 2 *last* years held all the Drawing rooms herself—this year a Levee,—went to the Opening of the Academy, & is going to have a breakfast at Buckingham Palace.—However the more she does, the more is *expected* and therefore the Queen must reserve to herself perfect freedom of action &—*for* the sake of her people, family & friends—she must do *all* she can to keep herself in *sufficient* health to be able to work on, in her lonely & arduous future.

She thinks that her Ministers may therefore have that

confidence in her w. she trusts the last 32 years have shown they can place in her, and will not press upon her things w. it is *not* possible for her to do or to alter.

137 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 14 June. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and having had the honour to receive yesterday Your Majesty's letter of the 11th, will not fail to communicate with the Lord Mayor of London accordingly.

138 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 612-15.)

DUFFERIN LODGE, HIGHGATE. 4 July. 1869.

. . . Mr. Gladstone is well aware of Your Majesty's intention and wish to go to Osborne in about a week, and deeply anxious to avoid troubling Your Majesty in respect to your personal movements for any reason, except such as he knows that, if it be duly brought to Your Majesty's knowledge Your Majesty would not fail to consider adequate. If Mr. Gladstone does not misinterpret Your Majesty's mind in relation to this great national question Your Majesty on the one hand would require from your confidential servants, that, saving the general principle and main object of the Bill intact, they should make every possible concession to the House of Lords, and to the interests of the disestablished body, and that if satisfied as to this condition, Your Majesty would be prepared to employ, in such manner as might commend itself to your judgment that great and just influence, and mediating power, which in given circumstances Your Majesty would possess with reference to one or more of the Persons most likely to influence the judgment of the House of Lords in the last resort.

The time of the Ministers is a matter of small importance in comparison with Your Majesty's comfort. But this, if differences were to arise between the Houses, would be a crisis, for a parallel to which we must revert to the year 1832. Every day added to the continuance of such a crisis is nothing less than a great public evil: and it is of the utmost importance that, if occasion should arise for steps of any kind to be taken outside the walls of Parlia-

ment, there should be time for them between the sitting of one day and the sitting of the next.

At a period so peculiar, the bare fact of Your Majesty's distance at Osborne would be the certain subject of observation. But this is not the point, which Mr. Gladstone humbly desires to bring into clear view : It is the actual loss of opportunities vital to the public welfare, and the increase of public excitement, of hazard, and of strain on the powers of the constitution possibly not to be thereafter repaired, which might ensue, if the right instrument were not employed at the right moment.

Mr. Gladstone hopes he has conveyed to the mind of Your Majesty that it is for no slight or secondary purpose that he has thus ventured to represent to Your Majesty the great importance of Your Majesty being at no greater distance than Windsor between the 15th and 19th or 20th of July. For, at Windsor, it would be quite possible for Your Majesty to communicate both with Ministers, and if need were, with any other person, should Your Majesty see fit, between the sitting of one day, and the sitting of the next. At Osborne, this could not be done ; and the mere attempt to do it would involve discomfort to Your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone hopes that difficulties will not arise. But if they should come they would come suddenly and would be of a very serious kind ; and Mr. Gladstone could never either forgive himself, or hope for forgiveness from Your Majesty if he had not, to the best of his ability, set out before Your Majesty what he conceives might prove to be the very safest, as well as the most effectual means of averting them.

Mr. Gladstone has never troubled Your Majesty in detail with the concessions and adjustments which the Government are prepared to make : but they are of course at Your Majesty's command.

Mr. Gladstone humbly states in conclusion, that he has advisedly abstained from consulting the Cabinet on the subject of this letter. It is more agreeable alike to his duty and to his feelings, to lay before Your Majesty in his imperfect manner both the possibility of evils, and the hope and likelihood of good that would be worthy of Your Majesty's name and reign, and to submit the case to Your Majesty's unbiassed judgment, than to fortify himself with the support of his Colleagues and thus seem to make another and less impartial appeal.

139 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 615-16.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 5. 1869.

The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's long letter of yesterday.

His proposal to her to remain away from Osborne for a period protracted to late in the summer as the 20th of July is one w^h involves so *great* a sacrifice to the Queen's health & *comfort*, & such a derangement of her subsequent plans for the remainder of the season that *nothing* c^{ld} justify it but the imminence of a *very* uncommon crisis in public affairs, not of *probable* recurrence. She admits however that the untoward position which this unfortunate question of the Irish Church has assumed between the two Houses may be regarded in this light. *Nothing less* w^{ld} induce the Queen to undergo *so serious* a trial to her strength as a longer residence away from the sea at *this time* of year (to w^h she has been accustomed for 24 years)—will occasion, than her anxiety that the most favourable terms may be concluded & carried into effect for the benefit of the Irish Protestant Establishment.

But for this very reason she must ask Mr. Gladstone to *bear in mind* that this *must* be regarded as an *entirely isolated* case, & that it must NEVER be made a *precedent* for any *similar* representation on the part of her Ministers to her in succeeding years—when her powers of meeting these *constant* calls upon her will be considerably diminished.

Mr. Gladstone gives his reasons for the critical period when the Queen's being near at hand w^{ld} be so much needed,—being between the 15th and 20th, & she will therefore not settle definitely any day for her departure for Osborne till the critical period is passed—hoping that she *may* be able to go there sooner than is at present anticipated,—& at *all accounts* not later than the 19th of July. She earnestly hopes it may be by the 16th or 17th—for she dreads remaining here much longer, than the time originally decided on.

140 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. July 5-6. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that nothing has occurred this day in the sitting of the

House of Commons of a nature to require special mention to Your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone has received with gratitude the announcement of Your Majesty's intention to postpone the journey to Osborne. Your Majesty may rest assured that the Government will use every effort to expedite the proceedings in each House of Parliament with reference to the Irish Church Bill, so that the demand on Your Majesty's patience may be as small as possible : and that Mr. Gladstone will never be tempted by Your Majesty's gracious assent to his prayer to obtrude on Your Majesty any representation other than such as may be required, if hereafter the occasion should arise, by indubitable and weighty public interests immediately associated with the discharge of Your Majesty's high office.

Mr. Gladstone is glad to reflect that the discussion on the Irish Church Bill once closed, nothing will remain of the business of this active Session which can in the slightest degree interfere with or obstruct the execution of Your Majesty's personal plans. . . .

141

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 6. 1869.

The Queen is much surprised at being *again* teased & tormented about this Bridge having 3 weeks ago—nearly—been asked by Mr. Gladstone that as the Queen *c^{ld}* not open the Bridge & Viaduct the fatigue of the whole thing being *much too g^t*, & *a day commencing in the HEAT* being *impossible c^{ld}* the Queen on returning from Balmoral in the autumn drive to *the Bridge* ? She replied that she *c^{ld}* NOT promise but that if she *c^{ld}* she *w^{ld}*—But that it *c^{ld}* not be BEFORE the *6th of Nov* :—& certainly NOT *in Oct* : And quite a short ceremony *without* any luncheon *anywhere*.

Pray make *this* very *positive*.

The P. of Wales will *not*, the Queen fears, be able to open the Viaduct unless it sh^{ld} be at the end of Aug : or in Oct :

142

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 9. 1869.

The Queen is extremely sorry to hear of Miss Gladstone's illness—*w^h* she fears will cause Mr. Gladstone much anxiety as well as inconvenience.

She has telegraphed to Sir W^m Jenner to put himself into communication with him as to what had best be done.

143 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

July 10. 1869.

You had better *not* come today—Trust Miss Gladstone is going on well.

144 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. July 10. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that since writing to Your Majesty on his return from the House of Commons at 2 o'clock this morning, he has received a further note from Sir W. Jenner, in consequence of which he will not proceed to Windsor this afternoon.

Mr. Gladstone is very grateful for Your Majesty's gracious expressions and enquiries respecting his daughter. The case is one of decided scarlet fever, but thank God it proceeds as favourably as possible.

The work of the House of Lords on the Irish Church Bill is now substantially complete; as it is thought that the renewed attempt on Monday to carry the Duke of Cleveland's amendment will fail. . . .

145 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 616-17.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 11. 1869.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letters of yesterday.

She is well aware that in introducing & carrying this measure thro' the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone has acted most conscientiously on his view of what was for the good of the Country—and she is sure that he will carry the same spirit to the consideration of the amendments sent down from the House of Lords.—

The Queen does not wish to suggest the particular points on which she herself may think that concessions might be made; but she w^{ld} remark that it seems very doubtful how far the Country has pronounced in favour of the measure as regards disendowment.—Those amongst the friends of the Irish Church,

who are anxious for the settlement of this question on moderate conditions, still think *some* permanent endowment necessary & the Queen w^{ld} ask Mr. Gladstone to consider well how far he can go towards meeting their wishes, & what concessions he can agree to, in this direction, rather than run the risk of losing the Bill altogether. And on this point she w^{ld} strongly urge Mr. Gladstone to consider that as his influence in the House of Commons is deservedly greater than has usually fallen to the lot of any Minister, it will depend *very much* upon the exertion of that influence *what* concessions the House of Commons may be brought to make.—The Queen believes that whatever Mr. Gladstone shall think himself justified in proposing, the majority in the House of Commons will accept rather than risk the loss of the Bill.

146 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 617–18.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 12. 1869.*

Mr. Gladstone acknowledges, with his humble duty, Your Majesty's gracious letter of yesterday. Your Majesty does him only justice in believing that it is his desire, as it is that of his colleagues, to act in respect to the Irish Church Bill for the general good, which certainly dictates a spirit of conciliation: but Your Majesty will perceive that there are limits, within which the power of action is confined.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in particular, has embraced an idea that the country has not passed its judgment on the subject of disendowment. His means of information must be inferior to the means of those, who were everywhere in contact with the people: and of the majority in the House of Commons there is not probably a single man who would accept this opinion.

Were Mr. Gladstone, or the Government generally to adopt it, the simple result would be, that they would lose the confidence of the House of Commons.

But the misfortune is that on this unfounded opinion the House of Lords has been led to act: to the extent, moreover, of giving to a disendowed Church, in one form or another, little short of nine-tenths of the property it holds in an endowed condition.

Mr. Gladstone sees with grief that the only result of persistence in such a course can be to establish a permanent discord between

the House of Lords and the country, and probably as the first effect to produce a movement against the Episcopal seats in the House of Lords such as has never yet been seen.

It will be the duty and desire of the Government to do all in their power to avert these great mischiefs. In evidence of their disposition they confidently point to the general structure of the Bill, as it left the House of Commons. They can see their way to further improvements of the conditions of the Church in point of property, which as compared with the Bill of the Commons, would amount to three-quarters of a million. But to the extravagant claims now made, neither their duty would permit, nor their power enable them to accede.

147 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 620-1.)

OSBORNE. July 22. 1869.

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for all his letters rec^d yesterday as well as for the Telegram & the Communication rec^d this mor^e with a full acc^t of the deliberations of the Cabinet.

She was deeply grieved to see that the hopes of an amicable settlement between both Houses w^h we had good reason to entertain on Monday—were all frustrated on Tuesday night,—The Queen however rejoices to see that the more moderate Councils have prevailed in the Cabinet & she still hopes that if a spirit conciliation is shown in the House of Commons & attempts to coerce & override the House of Lords are abstained from, that the House of Lords will also meet them in a spirit of conciliation—& thus this most unhappy question may be settled this Session.

148 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 622.)

OSBORNE. July 23. 1869.

The Queen rec^d Mr. Gladstone's Cypher as well as Lord Granville's Telegram & Mr. Gladstone's letter this mor^e with the g^{test} satisfaction & relief.

Lord Granville seems indeed to have displayed more than his ordinary tact & conciliatoriness on this occasion—& on his side Lord Cairns seems to have met him in a conciliatory spirit.

The Queen is sorry but not surprised to hear of Mr. Gladstone's indisposition w^h she trusts will not be of long duration.

149 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. July 24. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter rec^d this m^{ns} with the very satisfactory intelligence of the proceedings of last night in the House of Commons. Tho' Mr. Gladstone expressed himself as unlikely to be able to be present on this occasion, she is glad to see he was in his place & made a very conciliatory speech, w^h is sure to do great good.

150 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. July 29. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter of the 27th—& sincerely hopes that he is feeling better.

He ought to take as much rest as he can—& later Scotch air is sure to restore his strength. . . .

151 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CHISLEHURST. 29 July. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and proceeds with pleasure to discharge his first obligation, that of tendering to Your Majesty his humble gratitude for the interest so graciously shown by Your Majesty in the recovery of his health, which he hopes will in a few days be complete.

To-morrow he expects to return to Town, and to attend the Cabinet on Saturday.

Lord Granville¹ has kindly written on his behalf to Your Majesty expressing on his behalf the opinion they entertain in common on a subject deeply interesting to Your Majesty's maternal feelings, that of the projected departure of Prince Arthur for Canada.

Lord Granville has also conveyed to Mr. Gladstone the papers relating to another subject of near and peculiar interest, the attachment formed by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh for a member of the Imperial Family of Russia.² On this subject Mr. Gladstone will do himself the honour to write to Your Majesty after he shall have seen the Lord Chancellor.

¹ Colonial Secretary.

² Grand Duchess Marie.

152

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 1. 1869.

. . . From what she hears from him & from Col. Elphinstone, she is glad to see that he and L^d Granville have to a certain extent modified their opinion relative to Arthur's going to Canada. Of course it w^{ld} be wrong to run any risk & the Queen's anxiety about her dear Child w^{ld} be far too great to let her for a moment think of doing so—if the danger *really* is so *great*—the Queen cannot make out that anything new has occurred to cause this & if it is thought better for Arthur not to remain as has been intended—that may be done. But it must be remembered that P^{ce} Arthur's military career will suffer seriously if, what has been carefully planned and worked out for him, for months not to say years—is at a moment's notice to be completely upset ; and this very idea of sending him to the opening of the Suez Canal is not one of use to his profession or good for him in any way. A young Prince sh^{ld} be made to work hard and not to be *always representing* at g^t ceremonies.

The Queen is anxious to keep him employed as other young men and above all not idling at home, exposed to the many temptations w^h beset all young men—but Princes more than any others.—

The Queen besides doubts the policy of sending any of her sons to the opening of the Suez Canal—considering the excitement & irritation of the Sultan & his Gov^t ag^t the Vice Roy. . . .

153 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. August 3-4. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and returns herewith the papers he had the honour to receive from Your Majesty relating to the Duke of Edinburgh's attachment in Russia. . . .

It appears to Mr. Gladstone that the circumstances are of that description in which the man should be more considered than the Prince.

The good to be attained is approximate : the mischief to be avoided is both remote and problematical as respects the Succession. . . .

The manifest and sincere reverence of the nation at large for the domestic character in her Royal Family would secure a respect

for the liberty of His Royal Highness, and a sympathy with its exercise upon a worthy object, which would act powerfully in allaying suspicion and in disarming criticism. The remaining risk does not appear to Mr. Gladstone to warrant an interposition, which might have the effect of altering unfavourably the entire direction of a life.

154

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 4. 1869.

. . . There is one thing w^h Mr. Gladstone does not mention w^h is the *only* one w^h the Queen, L^d Cairns,¹ & Mr. Disraeli *really* fear viz: the event of P^{ce} Alfred's becoming King & his wife being a Greek. This w^d be very objectionable.

As for the children there is not the slightest difficulty.

In *all* cases where Russian G^d D^{esses} have married *Protestant Princes all* the Children have invariably been Protestant—sons as well as daughters—and there never was the slightest attempt made to alter this. . . .

155

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 9. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone will have rec^d the Duke of Argyll's * letter relative to Mr. Kingsley.

Since that she has heard from the P^{ce} of Wales—who had heard from Mr. Kingsley most anxious for some promotion.—

The Queen hopes Mr. Gladstone is better.

156 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 9 Aug. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty submits to Your Majesty at the request of the Corporation of Liverpool a draft of inscription herewith (marked A) which it is proposed with Your Majesty's approval to place upon a statue of Your Majesty erected at Liverpool.

Paper B is the companion inscription.

Paper C is a shortened edition of Paper A embodying some

¹ Lord Chancellor in the late Conservative Government.

² Secretary of State for India.

amendments (with the reasons appended) which Mr. Gladstone takes the liberty of suggesting.¹

Should it be Your Majesty's pleasure to give no judgment in the matter, this can easily be communicated without fear of its being misunderstood.

157 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Aug. 11. 1869.

The Queen returns this paper to Mr. Gladstone & likes the Inscription as proposed by him *extremely*.

That dreadful word "*late*" she never can bear to hear.

158 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Aug. 11. 1869.

The Queen does not think that there is any reason why Mr. Kingsley sh^{ld} not have this Stall.—Whatever faults Gov^r Eyre² had & committed he was very much ill used also.

The Queen hopes Mr. Gladstone is better.

159 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

WALMER CASTLE. Aug. 11. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and submits to Your Majesty the expedience of making some additions to the Peerage, and also, after a short interval, to the Baronetage of the United Kingdom.

Had Mr. Gladstone been able to go to Osborne on Saturday, he

¹ Paper "A" from the Corporation of Liverpool ran as follows:—

In honor of/Her Most Gracious Majesty/Queen Victoria/and/as a companion to the one/In memory of the late/Lamented Prince Consort/This statue/was erected by the/Corporation of Liverpool/August 1869./Long live the Queen.

Paper "C," with Mr. Gladstone's suggested amendments:—

Erected/In honour of/Her Majesty Queen Victoria/and/as a companion/To the memorial statue/of the lamented Prince Consort/By the/Corporation of Liverpool/August 1869./Long live the Queen./

Notes [by Mr. Gladstone].

1. "Most gracious" is struck out as a merely formal phrase which adds too little to the sense.

2. "The one" is not suitable English for an inscription.

3. "The late" is needless and seems to jar.

² Governor of Jamaica, 1864. His severe action in repressing a negro rising was gravely questioned, and legal proceedings were taken against him without success in 1869.

would then have sought an opportunity of introducing this subject to the notice of Your Majesty with a view to the greater facility of verbal explanations. The list which he has the honour to enclose herewith for Your Majesty's gracious consideration, contains in all Ten names of persons proposed to be created Peers, besides those of the Peers to be made Peers of Parliament ; and of 14 persons proposed for Baronetcies. Some of these persons, in each list, are applicants : others are not so, and Mr. Gladstone has not the means of knowing whether they would accept the honour, should Your Majesty permit him to tender it ; but he has felt it his duty to trouble Your Majesty with the names before making any communication to the individuals concerned.

Among the general considerations which induce Mr. Gladstone humbly to advise these proceedings are the following.

1. In respect to the Peerage, Your Majesty may bear in mind that no Peers have been created since the accession of the present Ministry, except some of a special character, or growing out of peculiar circumstances : 4 in all.

2. Although the number of Peers, and Peers of Parliament, created of late years, has been considerable, it has been inefficient to repair the waste of the Peerage from natural causes. A return called for by Mr. Gladstone shows the voting members of the Peerage to have been :

In 1820	371
1840	457
1850	446
1860	458
1869	433

Thus the increase since 1820 bears no proportion to the growth of wealth and population in the country : while since 1840 there has been a positive and not inconsiderable decrease.

In like manner, the Baronets who in 1850 were 700, are now only 681.

3. The numbers of the House of Lords are not inconveniently large : and some additions to them judiciously made from time to time, tend to maintain and strengthen the influence of the order, which is in an increasing degree personal more than properly political, and grows with each addition of a new centre, if the addition be in itself suitable.

4. Some regard is also to be had to the preservation of harmony

between the new Houses : and it is represented to Mr. Gladstone, by those best qualified to judge, that the balance of opinion in the House of Lords tends to become increasingly adverse to the Liberal party ; cases being not infrequent where Peerages, originally created in the Liberal sense, have upon a new succession passed over to the other side. And it may be added that Lord Palmerston who for nine years was Your Majesty's principal adviser, was singularly sparing in his recommendations. During his second Government, only 16 Peers appear to have been created: 14 were added in the last Government of Lord Derby, which lasted little more than one-fourth of the time. The consequence has been that many applications, and many cases without application have come before Mr. Gladstone, which appear to him to be supported by great strength of claim.

Of these he humbly submits to Your Majesty a selection, which he has made upon consideration, and with the most competent advice in his power to obtain. . . .

160

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 14. 1869.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's Letter of the 12th. She will take some time to consider the important subject brought before her, but she must say—that she is very much opposed to the Creation of many Peers at a time.

161

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

Appd V. R.

Memorandum

The Rev. Charles Kingsley, Rector of Eversley, is humbly recommended to Your Majesty by Mr. Gladstone to be Canon of Chester.

15 Aug. 1869.

162

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville

BALMORAL. Aug. 22. 1869.

The Queen received these letters from Mr. Gladstone some days ago—& must express to Lord Granville her surprise at the *very* large number of Peers as well as Baronets proposed to be made. Lord Granville knows how strong her objection, fully

shared by the Prince, has *ever* been to increasing the Peerage & thus she has invariably *resisted it*.

She sees the reasons for it which are given now : but she really *cannot* consent to *such* a large increase at a *time*. Four at a time would be quite the utmost she would approve ; perhaps a few more Baronets. But to make a *Jew a Peer* is a step she *could not* consent to. It would be very ill taken & would do the Govt great harm.

At *this* moment when there is *not* a doubt that the measure just passed respecting the Irish Church is looked upon as a triumph to the R. Catholics, she would not wish to create two R. Catholic Peers, though personally they are most unexceptionable, & at some other time the Queen might not be indisposed to make them.

Let these Peerages be distributed over several years and the Queen will not object.

The Baronetcies might also she thinks—be considerably reduced, & spread over a longer space of time. Will Lord Granville communicate this to Mr. Gladstone ?

163 (Copy) *Earl Granville to Queen Victoria*

BALMORAL. Aug. 23. 1869.

Lord Granville presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and ventures to make a few remarks on the answer which Your Majesty proposes to send to Mr. Gladstone as to new Peers.

The present circumstances are different from any in which Your Majesty has hitherto judiciously declined adding greatly to the numbers of the House of Lords.

Lord Derby in opposition had a majority not only against Lord Russell, but against Lord Palmerston, than whom no Liberal Prime Minister could be more popular in the Lords.

During his last short tenure of office, notwithstanding his assured majority, and his exclusive command of the Scotch and Irish Peerage, Lord Derby recommended 14 new Peers to Your Majesty, many of them of the most Tory class of country gentlemen. In the face of a Liberal majority in the House of Commons, he increased the Conservative majority in the Lords. Mr. Disraeli added a few. Circumstances obliged them to pass a Reform Bill which has created a greatly increased Liberal majority in the Commons, and which makes it idle to suppose that Politics will run in precisely the same groove as before.

The position of Your Majesty's Government in the Lords is almost intolerable. The majority were wise enough at the last moment to pass the Irish Church Bill, supported as it was by the Commons and the country,—but it is absolute in all ordinary matters of Legislation, on which the credit and utility of a Government so much depend. It does not scruple to exercise that power, a course ultimately sure to create great dissatisfaction.

Lord Bessborough has lost from his list of 1850, of those whom he used to summon, 45 Peers whose Peerages have become extinct, who are incapacitated, or who in their own persons or in that of their sons have become Conservatives.

The majority is between 60 and 70 without counting Bishops or Liberals who vote oftener for the Opposition than for the Government. No one would pretend that a dozen Peers could swamp such a majority ; but Her Majesty's Government requires moral support in the House. They are not cordially supported by even the small minority, of whom the most eminent are ex-place men, who many of them are not friends of Mr. Gladstone, and prefer the failure to the success of his colleagues. If only 3 or 4 Peers are created, they get awed by the atmosphere in which they find themselves.

The Prince¹ was averse to numerous creations, but it was at a time when there was no such hurtful anomaly as a majority of 100 in the Commons, and an immense majority on the opposite side in the Lords. But even then His Royal Highness constantly told Lord Granville that the House was wanting in Peers representing different classes, and different types of ideas. Lord Salisbury the other day urged this deficiency upon the House as one of the reasons why it was losing ground in public opinion.

Mr. Gladstone has taken great pains in selecting the list for Your Majesty. He has endeavoured to avoid taking too many good and moderate men out of the House of Commons. Three of the persons named are possessors of enormous landed property (probably in the aggregate nearer £200,000 than £100,000 a year). The rest represent various classes, interests, and ideas, and are all men of property.

The notion of a Jew Peer is startling. "*Rothschild le premier Baron Juif*" does not sound as well as "*Montmorency, le premier Baron Chrétien*"—but he represents a class whose influence is

¹ Prince Albert.

great by their wealth, their intelligence, their literary connections, and their numerous seats in the House of Commons. It may be wise to attach them to the Aristocracy, rather than to drive them into the Democratic camp. The Carlton Club sent a Jew to be their candidate at Sandwich. Lord Shaftesbury wrote to Mr. Gladstone to press Sir M. Montefiore's claims to a Peerage.

The Policy of Your Majesty's Government is to treat Roman Catholics for the future with equality in proportion to their number. Lord Granville does not remember the Creation of a Catholic Peer notwithstanding their wealth and birth. The old Catholic Peers cannot speak. They cannot think for themselves and are under the direction of their Bishop. Sir John Acton would be excluded if Dr. Manning had the power to do so. He and Lord Edward are proposed as greatly superior to any Irish Catholic who could be recommended to Your Majesty for the honour. Lord Redesdale, the strongest of Protestant Conservatives, stated in the House that he saw no objection even to Dr. Manning having a seat in the Lords.

Mr. Gladstone has hitherto refrained from troubling Your Majesty. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville were of opinion that it was better to avoid making any—till after the Irish Church Bill had been dealt with by the House of Lords.

Lord Granville is sure that anything which can give a more liberal tinge to the House of Lords and put it more in harmony with the House of Commons is useful.

It is disadvantageous to the Lords that it should be difficult to initiate measures in it. It is not good for the Crown that its servants should be helpless in either branch of the Legislature.

Lord Granville humbly apologizes for troubling Your Majesty at such length. Even if he was not deeply interested in the matter he should submit to Your Majesty the same observations, all of which are not likely to have occurred to you.

164 (*Copy*) *Queen Victoria to Earl Granville*

BALMORAL. Aug. 24. 1869.

The Queen has given Lord Granville's long letter her most careful and attentive consideration. There is no doubt much weight in the arguments which he adduces in favour of an increase of the Peerage. But the great difficulty for a Liberal Govt will not be *much* improved thereby. However, the Queen will be ready to

consent to a modification of her *own* views, and to permit 7 or 8 to be created now—on the understanding that not more than 2 or 3 shld be added later.

But she *cannot* consent to a Jew being made a Peer—tho' she will not object to a *Jew* baronet—and she is quite certain that it wld do the Govt harm instead of good.—

Also she thinks that 9 or 10 baronets w^{ld} be enough at a time tho' she will not stand out upon their exact number ; but she does object to so great a number at once.

Lastly with respect to the R. Catholic Peers—while she repeats the 2 proposed are unexceptionable, and that she will therefore not oppose their creation—she *does* object to the principle of treating them on an equality with the Protestants. The Govt. & many people in this country seem to the Queen to be totally blind to the alarming encroachments & increase of the R. Catholics in England & indeed all over the world. The Pope was never so powerful & the Queen is quite determined to do *all* in her power to prevent this. Every favour granted to the R. Catholics does *not* conciliate them, but leads them to be more & more grasping & encroaching & the danger of this to Protestant England cannot be overrated.

165

Earl Granville to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL CASTLE. Aug. 25. 1869.

The Queen sent me this answer before dinner yesterday.

At that repast, Her Majesty, dying of laughter, made some allusion to the manner in which people *submitted* to her to do what she did not wish to do, and not to do what she wished to do.

She seems to expect me to open the subject in the evening, but unless she begins, I shall not do so till I hear from you.

I construe her assent to be given to everything but the Jew, eight now, three before the opening of Parliament. Biddulph says he does not know, but that he agrees with me. . . .

The Queen hopes you are really resting yourself.

166

Earl Granville to Mr. Gladstone

COLONIAL OFFICE. Aug 31. 1869.

I communicated your answer about Peers and Baronets to the Queen.

I told Her Majesty that you were at work in order to submit a revised and reduced list of the latter.

I did not press the arguments about Baron Rothschild, because the Queen has evidently at present a strong feeling on the subject, as regards Herself and the Government.

I gave your argument about the disadvantage of dividing the batch—and I told Her Majesty how pleased you were with Her Majesty's concession about numbers.

I find that I had misconstrued the Queen's sentence in Her Majesty's previous letter "that Her Majesty would agree to 7 or 8 now and 2 or 3 added later." The Queen did not mean an interval of two or three months, but a year—and the Queen would like the whole number to be under 10. But I am now authorized to state that Her Majesty consents to the whole number with the exception of Baron Rothschild being created at once—but would prefer as you propose that it should take place at the beginning of November. She would like to have a promise for the future, but does not exact one as it will be your duty to advise Her Majesty to the best of your judgment as the case arises. But the Queen wishes you to know Her feeling.

I am a bad negotiator on behalf of Her Majesty, as I have a strong conviction that every modification of the present unfortunate antagonism between the Lords and the Commons is good especially for the future of the House of Lords.

I have prepared the Queen for the probability of your submitting besides the omission of Baron Rothschild, the substitution of some other commercial representative for one of the other names.

The Queen approves this letter.

167 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *Sept. 4. 1869.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and has learned with pleasure that Your Majesty approves of the postponement, until a later time of the year, of the proposals to create a certain number of new Peers. For he is most anxious Your Majesty should be satisfied that the recommendation humbly submitted had not been adopted without much reflection, or upon other than broad grounds; and he believes that the postponement of the decision will contribute to Your Majesty fuller satisfaction on this head.

Mr. Gladstone received with gratitude Your Majesty's message concerning his journey to and stay at Balmoral. Subject to Your Majesty's commands, he proposes to arrive at the Castle on the morning of the 11th.

A reduced list for the Baronetage is appended.

168 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL, Sept. 11. 1869.

The Queen is glad to hear Mr. Gladstone is well again. She hopes to see him this Eve^s at dinner, & tomorrow in day she w^{ld} hope to be able to see & speak to him about various matters.

She is seriously alarmed at the shameful conduct of Cardinal Cullen on the Education function.

169 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL, Oct. 7. 1869.

Princess Christian has written on the subject of Mr. Engleheart to Mr. Gladstone and the Queen is anxious to tell Mr. Gladstone how important it is that he sh^{ld} get this app^t as Commissioner of Customs. From Mr. Engleheart's long friendship with the Duke of Newcastle—Mr. Gladstone w^d, the Queen is sure, be glad to do something for him. P^{ce} & P^{ness} Christian found it necessary to make some alterations in the arrangement of their Household & consequently Mr. Engleheart's services were no longer required. . . .

170 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN, 10. Oct. '69.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and feels very much how competent Mr. Engleheart is for public employment and how desirable under the circumstances described by Your Majesty it is that such employment should be found for him. But he regrets to say that the apparent opening at the Board of Customs affords no real opportunity for this purpose as the office lately held by Mr. Grey will have to be absorbed in giving effect to certain reductions in the Department which were recommended last year by a Committee of Enquiry. Mr. Gladstone has now asked the formal judgment of the Irish Government on the safety and prudence of any further release of Fenian Prisoners. If as is probable it is in the negative a careful reply will be forthwith prepared to that effect.

Mr. Gladstone knowing Your Majesty's deep anxiety on the subject connected with the approaching Council at Rome takes the liberty of apprising Your Majesty that the work believed to be principally the production of Dr. Döllinger "*Der Papst und das Concil, von Janus*" is now come to this country. The preface appears to Mr. Gladstone to be an admirable paper of the greatest weight and moment. It is the only part he has yet been able to read.

171

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Oct. 15. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Letter rec^d 2 days ago & is extremely glad to see that the Govt have carefully considered the question of recommending to her the liberation of the Fenian Prisoners & that the Irish Govt are against it.—The Queen felt *most* strongly that to release these prisoners w^{ld} have been most imprudent—& w^{ld} only (as on the previous occasion) be considered a proof of weakness w^h w^{ld} alienate the well-disposed from the Govt & she w^{ld} not have consented to it without strongly protesting against it. Conciliation & justice is quite right & no one is more strongly of this opinion than the Queen, but firmness is absolutely necessary in Ireland & Mr. Gladstone will see that it will not do either to give way to the Catholics in the hope of conciliating them. They will take every thing & not be grateful for it. To treat them with perfect equality is an impossibility. Other Countries show this clearly.

The Queen is vy sorry that the appt w^h she was anxious Mr. Engleheart shld have, is filled up.—But she thinks that Mr. Gladstone will not forget him & will be able to offer him some other one by & bye.

The Queen is vexed to see with what certainty the people in the City count on her being able to go to open Blackfriars bridge. Only at the beginning of this week she suffered so severely with headache—that it w^{ld} have been quite impossible for her to have gone on either of those days—& the day preceding she had hardly warning of it.

She hopes Mr. Gladstone is better.

Poor Lord Derby she grieves to see is still in a most precarious state.

He w^{ld} be a g^t loss to all his friends & the Queen w^{ld} deeply regret him.

172 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 629-30.)

HAWARDEN. Oct. 16. [1869.]

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and having just returned from Chester after the departure of the Prince of Wales has to report that he never witnessed a more loyal or a more successful demonstration, and that the demeanour and entire proceedings of the Prince, including his speech at the Town Hall, were such as in the judgment of everyone left nothing to be desired.

Mr. Gladstone watches with care every indication of trouble with respect to the See of Exeter; and he thinks it likely that some formal remonstrance may be made, or some other proceeding attempted, with reference to the nomination of Dr. Temple. As yet Mr. Gladstone has not observed that such proceedings will be favoured by the more sober-minded even of those who disapprove: and he is very glad to learn from Dr. Temple that warm and friendly letters had been written to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Oxford, Ely and Worcester, Archbishop Philpott, son of the late eminent prelate, and many clergy of the diocese. Nothing has occurred to lead Mr. Gladstone to regret his recommendation of Dr. Temple to Your Majesty.

Having sufficiently collected the opinions of many of his colleagues, including Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone is preparing (in concert with the Irish Government) a reply conformable to their unanimous opinions, which refuses to accede to the further extension of indulgence to the Fenian Prisoners lately made the subject of numerous requests. Mr. Gladstone has arrived for himself, at the conclusion with reluctance, but without any doubt whatever.

Mr. Gladstone takes the liberty of mentioning that the Dean of Windsor¹ comes here on a visit next Thursday the 21st. The appointment of Dean Goodwin appears to give general pleasure.

P.S.—Mr. Gladstone resumes his pen to apprise Your Majesty that Mr. Layard having accepted the mission at Madrid, Mr. Ayrton also gratefully accepts the post of First Commissioner of Works with a strong sense “of Your Majesty’s condescending

¹ Dean Wallesey.

kindness " and assures me " that no effort shall be wanting on his part to carry on the duties of the office to Your Majesty's satisfaction."

173

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

10, DOWNING STREET. 28 Oct. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and thinks the time has now arrived when it is desirable that he should write to the various persons approved by Your Majesty for the Peerage to apprise them of the honour graciously intended for them. Your Majesty will remember that the list contains the name of Baron Lionel de Rothschild, which Your Majesty held to be open to exception on the ground of his profession of the Jewish religion.

Under ordinary circumstances Mr. Gladstone would be able at once and without a word to defer to any objection entertained by Your Majesty, but in this case he thinks it his duty to state briefly the considerations by which he was governed in proposing the name.

He knows well that Your Majesty will freely and deliberately weigh them. If they are still judged insufficient, Mr. Gladstone will trouble Your Majesty no further on the subject. But he feels that they ought to be submitted. They are these—

It is extremely desirable to connect the House of Lords, in a few carefully selected cases, with the great representatives of the commerce of this country.

But, from the sort of parity which prevails among commercial men of the higher stamp it is extremely difficult to make the selection. Excellent candidates may easily be found but they do not stand out sufficiently from the body.

As the head of the great European house of the Rothschilds, even more than by his vast possessions, and his very prominent political position after having represented the City of London since the year 1847, Baron L. de Rothschild enjoys exactly that *exceptional* position, which disarms jealousy, and which is so difficult to find. His amiable and popular character needs only to be named as a secondary recommendation.

It would not be possible, in this view, to find any satisfactory substitute for his name. And if his religion were to operate permanently as a bar, it appears that this would be to revive by

prerogative the disability which formerly existed by statute, and which the Crown and Parliament thought proper to abolish.

Mr. Gladstone has now troubled Your Majesty to the full extent incumbent upon him, and will not think of pressing Your Majesty beyond what Your Majesty's impartial judgment may approve.

174 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. Oct. 29. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly recommends that Mr. Stansfeld, now third Lord of the Treasury, be appointed Financial Secretary in the place of Mr. Ayrton¹; and that Mr. W. H. Gladstone be appointed to a junior Lordship which will revive on the lapse of the office of 3rd Lord.

It is not without some diffidence that Mr. Gladstone presumes to recommend a son of his own for the honour of serving Your Majesty: yet he may plead that the appointment is desired by those who will be in immediate official connection with the new junior Lord, and that he humbly hopes, and even expects that his son will prove both devoted and competent to his duties.* He is now in the fifth year of his Parliamentary service, and for a longer period he has assisted his Father as a Private Secretary, in the transaction of business.

175 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. Nov. 1. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Letter, & for promising her not to press the subject of Sir L. Rothschild's Peerage.

The Queen really cannot make up her mind to it. It is not only the feeling, of which she cannot divest herself, against making a person of the Jewish religion, a Peer; but she cannot think that one who owes his great wealth to contracts with Foreign Govts for Loans, or to successful speculations on the Stock Exchange can fairly claim a British Peerage.

However high Sir L. Rothschild may stand personally in Public Estimation, this seems to her not the less a species of gambling, because it is on a gigantic scale—& far removed from that legitimate trading w^h she *delights to honour*, in which men have raised

¹ Promoted to be First Commissioner of Works.

² The appointment was graciously approved "with much pleasure and satisfaction."

themselves by patient industry & unswerving probity to positions of wealth and influence.

Such Men as the late Thomas Cubitt, or George Stephenson, w^{ld} have done honour to any House of Peers.

The Queen will sanction Mr. Gladstone's proceeding with the other Peerages, tho' she must again express her regret that he thought so large a creation necessary.

176

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 4. 1869.

The Queen found on her arrival here this mor^e early Mr. Gladstone's 2 letters. She at once telegraphed to him that it was (for many reasons) impossible for her to have the Council *before* the 11th. She has not been well lately—tho' the cold weather agreed with her & she fears much the effect of the change to a depressing climate. The Queen however *hopes* nothing will prevent her going to open the Blackfriars Bridge on Saturday.

She will keep herself as *quiet* as *she can* today & tomorrow.

The Queen is glad to hear that the Cabinet *do not* recommend an increase of the Episcopacy—as she w^{ld} have found g^t difficulty in giving her consent to it, so strong is her opinion against it.

177 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. Nov. 5. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and, with reference to the course which has been pursued on former occasions capable of being regarded as precedents, humbly recommends that a Baronetcy be conferred on the Lord Mayor of London in connection with the Celebration of to-morrow.

Mr. Gladstone earnestly hopes that the celebration may pass without causing Your Majesty any great inconvenience or fatigue. . . .

178

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 6. 1869.

The Queen entirely approves of a Baronetcy being conferred on the Lord Mayor.—

Nothing c^{ld} go off better or more satisfactorily in *every possible way* than the ceremony & long progress thro' the Queen must

think—nearly a million of people today. The Queen was much touched by the gt. enthusiasm shown, by all Classes. And every thing was admirably arranged as no doubt Mrs. Gladstone will have told Mr. Gladstone.

Most fortunately the Queen *was* free from headache—w^h *if* she had *not* been, she hardly knows *how* she w^{ld} have gone thro' to-day.—But she has none tonight either.—The weather being cold was a g^t advantage to her.

179 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 8 Nov. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and has read with the most heartfelt pleasure the account Your Majesty was so good as to send him of the auspicious ceremonial of Saturday. He is rejoiced that Your Majesty was able (as he trusts) without suffering, to confer such lively gratification on so vast an assemblage, whose feelings of loyalty and attachment cannot but have been quickened by Your Majesty's condescension.

Mr. Gladstone takes the liberty to transmit a memorandum which has been sent to him describing various particulars connected with the neighbourhood of Blackfriars, as he thinks it may possibly interest Your Majesty. . . .

180 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 10. 1869.

The Queen has heard with the greatest surprise & she must add, indignation, that it had been proposed, without *any previous communication with her*, to do away with the Men of her Yacht, & to man her when required for the Queen's service with men taken from different Ships! This must not be.—It is essential to the Queen's comfort that she sh^{ld} know the men of the Yacht, & have confidence in their good behaviour.—Under any circumstances it was the duty of the 1st Lord of the Admiralty, even if common courtesy did not prompt him to do so, to ascertain in the 1st instance, what were the Queen's wishes on the subject. She must ask Mr. Gladstone to communicate the contents of this letter to Mr. Childers & to put a stop at once to any such idea.—The Queen will *not* consent to it.

181 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*[*Telegram*]

Nov. 10. 8 p.m.

Will not lose a moment in examining into the subject of letter just received.

182 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *Midnight*. Nov. 10. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and as he announced briefly in a Telegram of this evening of Your Majesty he has inquired into the subject of the letter which he had the honour to receive from Your Majesty this evening.

Mr. Gladstone is very sensible of the difficulty which Your Majesty must from time to time experience in being called upon to deal with unsifted rumours.

The rumour which on this occasion has troubled Your Majesty was that it had been proposed, without any previous communication with Your Majesty, to do away with the men of the Royal Yacht, and to man it in another manner.

Having called for an immediate and precise account from the First Lord of the Admiralty of any steps taken by him which could have warranted such a rumour, Mr. Gladstone humbly states that no such step has been taken, and that Your Majesty has to all appearance been greatly misinformed.

Your Majesty may rest assured, that no plan touching Your Majesty's dignity or comfort will ever be proposed by the First Lord of the Admiralty, except with an honest view to their preservation and increase, or except with Your Majesty's full previous knowledge.

183 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 13. 1869.

The Queen sends Mr. Gladstone a Copy of the Minute on the subject of manning the Yacht, w^h Sir S. Dacres has sent to Sir T. Biddulph.

Mr. Gladstone will judge from this how far the denial of the Admiralty that any proposal had been made to do away with the Crew of the Yacht is satisfactory,—& will also see that, on this occasion at least, it was not necessary to warn the Queen against listening to "vague rumours."

The minute CAN *only* mean that the Crew sh^{ld} in future be taken from the "picked men" available in the Excellent.

The Queen however, acquits the Admiralty of any intention of making the change without previous communication to her.

184 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

WINDSOR. Sat. 13 Nov. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and with reference to the letter he has this evening had the honour to receive, he prays leave to submit to Your Majesty that two questions appear to be in some degree mixed, which it is desirable to sever: the first whether any change ought to be made in the mode either of manning the Royal Yacht or of providing for the crew, the other whether it was right or allowable for the Admiralty to enquire into the present arrangements unless after opening the subject to Your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone hopes and believes Your Majesty will concur in the opinion that it must often be the duty of a Department of the Government to make enquiries strictly preliminary without previous communications to Your Majesty in cases where it would equally be the duty of that Department to take Your Majesty's pleasure before proposing a practical manner for adoption. This appears to be what was done in the present instance. The minute transmitted by Your Majesty begins by stating that it appears a suitable moment to enquire into the arrangement. It is addressed to the Commander in Chief at Portsmouth. It closes with desiring him to consult the Captain, and then to "investigate and report" on the several points and to state "what he considers would be the best arrangement for the future."

Mr. Gladstone, aware that Your Majesty values truth and plain dealing beyond all other things, must frankly admit that as far as appears upon the papers the Admiralty acted within their duty in making this enquiry on their own responsibility, and it would indeed be a serious as well as a needless addition to Your Majesty's heavy labours, if every Minister or Department were to trouble Your Majesty upon questions of administrative arrangement *before* ascertaining whether there might or might not be cause on the whole to recommend a change.

From Your Majesty's former letter it appeared Your Majesty had been apprised that certain departmental changes were pro-

posed in the mode of manning the Royal Yacht, and this without any previous communication to Your Majesty. Mr. Gladstone humbly submits it to be now plain that this was either a rumour insufficiently tested, or else a very mistaken description; for it seems a serious mistake to construe as formed instructions, the investigations which before deciding every prudent minister will make and which will occasionally end in his not acting at all.

It is with such statements, whether they be inaccurate, or whether they be only premature, that Mr. Gladstone regrets Your Majesty should be even by accident troubled.

185 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 1. 1869.

. . . The King of the Belgians was anxious that the L^d Mayor's earnest request to be made a Baronet on the occasion of his visit to the City sh^{ld} be complied with. The Queen hardly knows what to say about it.—

When the Emp^r of the French went to the City, the Lord Mayor was made a Baronet, but not when the King of Sardinia did.

When the Sultan went to the City—the L^d Mayor was equally made a Baronet—but not when the P^{ce} & P^{uss} of Wales did. Perhaps Mr. Gladstone will look into the precedents & then give the Queen his opinion.—

The Queen found Claremont most agreeable & comfortable & the air so wonderfully better & purer than here.—

The Queen has not been well.

The fatigues of the week before last have told heavily upon her. . . .

186 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 634.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 13. 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his reports of the proceedings of the Cabinet.

She w^{ld} wish no important measures to be decided on without being duly submitted to her.—She w^{ld} also wish to see regularly the reports w^h Mr. Gladstone receives from Ireland, as she hears nothing but by the papers.

Formerly the L^d Lieut's letters used always to be sent to the Queen.

She believes, Mr. Fortescue¹ being in the Cabinet he now reports to Mr. Gladstone. . . .

187 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) I, 634.)

10, DOWNING STREET. Dec. 14. 1869.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and with reference to Your Majesty's letter of yesterday, he humbly states that he has communicated with Mr. Fortescue respecting the submission to Your Majesty of reports from Ireland, which relate to the condition of the country; and he will arrange with the Viceroy and the Home Secretary according to Your Majesty's desire.

With respect to the preparation of legislative measures in general, Mr. Gladstone has made it his practice, when he reports the proceedings at successive Cabinets, to name specially to Your Majesty the course proposed to be pursued in respect to any and all measures of which so far as he can judge Your Majesty would desire to take special cognizance, in the hope that Your Majesty would thus be enabled in a convenient manner to notice it. Should Mr. Gladstone fall into any error of omission or otherwise in this respect, he will be thankful for Your Majesty's correction. . . .

188 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Dec. 18. 1869

The Queen hopes Mr. Gladstone's cold is much better?

Here we have a dreadful gale but the Queen had a good passage.

The acc^{ts} of the dear D^{ss} of Argyll are a *little* better.

Still it is a most anxious state—& the Queen's heart bleeds for the dear Duke!—

P^{ce} Leopold is quite well again.

189 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Dec. 21. 1869.

. . The exhibition of illiberality in the Church towards Dr. Temple^a is a disgrace—& shows how ignorance & bigotry

¹ Chief Secretary for Ireland.

^a Bishop of Exeter.

blind people & destroy all real spiritual religion w^h is quite lost sight of !

190

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Dec. 31. 1869.

. . . The Queen was much gratified by the extract about our dear, good boy Arthur, w^h he sent her. She has seen similar ones,—all of w^h as well as the reports of Col. Elphinstone—are most gratifying to her heart.

She cannot refrain therefore from enclosing one from himself & one from Col. Elphinstone both of w^h are so vy satisfactory. . . .

191

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 1. 1870.

. . . B^p Temple seems to have met with a vy good reception at Exeter.—

The Queen wishes Mr. & Mrs. Gladstone & their family a very happy New Year.

192 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Jan. 3. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty to Your Majesty, returns the delightful letter from Prince Arthur, with the perusal of which he has been favoured, and the highly satisfactory account given by Colonel Elphinstone.

The Prince appears, like his illustrious father, to be made of that material which does not readily catch a taint from the world, and Mr. Gladstone humbly desires that in this respect Your Majesty may be permitted by the Almighty to enjoy a lifelong satisfaction. . . .

He trusts that Bishop Temple will now with his great powers and large sympathies make easy way.

He is grateful for Your Majesty's inquiries about his wife. She is fast recovering. . . .

193

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 11. 1870.

The Queen fears that the Pensions on the Civil List are all already granted—for this year, but if so—a promise c^{ld} be given

for a future year—that is next year. There is a vy deserving case—viz: that of Lady Mayne, the widow of that excellent Public Servant, Sir R. Mayne, w^h she wishes to recommend to Mr. Gladstone. She has rather a large family & her circumstances are far from good, but she has hitherto shrunk from asking for any thing, & the Queen is only the more anxious from her g^t delicacy of failing to afford her some assistance. . . .

She has been very unwell lately suffering all last week from severe neuralgia in her face & general discomfort—unable to eat—& obliged to keep her room for two days—& even now she is obliged to take the g^{test} care not to get a fresh chill.

The Queen will be obliged to avoid all exposure to cold or rather more to Draughts & all fatigue or exertion.

She c^{ld} do nothing hardly for several days.

194

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 17. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Letter rec^d Yesterday mor^g.—She is better again—but only in fear of a return of the distressing neuralgia.—The Archbishop has borne the journey to Addington well & the Doctors give a favourable report of him.—

The Queen believes that a Welshman is almost necessary for a Welsh See on acc^t of the language.

The Queen will be anxious to hear, as soon as possible, the outline of the Irish Land Measure.—And she hopes to see Mr. Gladstone here in the course of another week or 10 days.

She hopes he rec^d her letter about Lady Mayne? . . .

195 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 21 Jan. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and having seen the letter which the Princess Christian has been so good as to address to Lord Granville, feels himself absolved from troubling Your Majesty, as he cannot ask or desire more than what he understands Your Majesty graciously to intend, viz. to consider and determine shortly whether any announcement can be made in relation to the opening of the Session of Parliament by Your Majesty in person.

He may however state than in his view the circumstances of

the present year are special, and would in no way prejudice the question or tend to fetter Your Majesty with reference to a future occasion which might present a different aspect. . . .

196

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 22. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his 2 letters.—

She, with the best *wish* to open Parl^t if feasible, *can say no more* than P^{ns} Christian wrote to Lord Granville & she herself to L^d Granville.

The Queen as she is *now*—C^{LD} not undertake it, without the g^{test} risk, indeed almost *certainly* of a return of all she has suffered so vy severely from. And she is by no means free from discomfort yet.

The Queen was sorry to hear Mr. Gladstone still suffered from cough.

It is a very unwholesome year.

197 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. Jan. 26. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty. The Cabinet has again been occupied to-day exclusively in maturing the Clauses of the Irish Land Bill, and Mr. Gladstone has written the accompanying brief memorandum¹ to explain to Your Majesty its general purport. Your Majesty will, he is sure, excuse his reference, at the close, to the importance of maintaining secrecy in regard to this critical measure.

198

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 7-8.)

OSBORNE. Jan. 29. 1870.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter with the enclosed Mem^m & he may depend upon her considering it strictly private & confidential.

She can only express her hope that the proposed measure may be effectual in putting an end to the dreadful state of things at present existing in Ireland between Landlord & Tenant ;—& the

¹ Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 5-7.

Constitution of a special Court to give effect to the measure seems quite right.

The only thing the Queen w^{ld} wish to remark is—the apparent want of sympathy with the Landlords. It does not seem quite fair to impute to the Landlord Class, the *entire* blame of the present state of things ; & as regards the Tenant, it is scarcely right or expedient, she thinks, however real the grievance may in *many instances*, be, of w^h he complains that he sh^{ld} be led to believe that the means by w^h he seeks redress for himself are either excused or condoned.

The Queen w^{ld} therefore, have liked, when the insecurity of tenure is spoken of on one hand as a grievance to the occupier of the soil, that the lawless determination neither to pay rent nor to suffer eviction, sh^{ld} have been denounced on the other, as a violation of the rights of property w^h c^{ld} not be allowed for a moment.

Mr. Gladstone will see that it is not to the measure w^h she is inclined to believe is founded on the right principle,—but to the preamble that the Queen objects.—

She does *not* believe that insecurity of tenure is the only, or even chief cause of the present state of things, & at all events the only expression of sympathy sh^{ld} not be for the refractory Tenants.

The Queen concludes that she may keep the Enclosure ?

199 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 29 Jan. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and hopes that fuller explanation may suffice fully to prove to Your Majesty that the Irish Land Bill is conceived in a spirit of impartial regard to all interests.

The Government do not yet know the final views of the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary in regard to special legislation for the repression of agrarian crime : but in no case would that subject be treated as part of the Land Bill.

The Chief explanation given by Mr. Gladstone in his letter could but very inadequately convey the nature of the measure.

It will contain nothing which can directly or indirectly tend to excuse or palliate agrarian crime. A most singular nature of the present condition of Ireland is that rents have been paid better than in ordinary years.

It is even possible that the disposition to pay rents may not be

wholly without relation to the extreme and even morbid or needless fear of dispossession from the soil in the mind of the people generally.

But this is a matter quite distinct from the use to which a period like the present is turned by bad and violent men.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 30. 1870.

The Queen has waited till *within 10 days* of the Opening of Parliament to give her final decision as to her doing so in person or not. She hardly thinks that Mr. Gladstone *can expect* any decision but what she must give:—viz: that it is *totally out of the question* that the Queen c^{ld} undertake it.—

After such repeated severe suffering w^h has weakened & shaken her v^y much & w^h obliges her to take the v^y g^{test} care when she goes out like *sitting backwards* when she drives & covering her face & hands with endless wraps—besides avoiding excitement & fatigue,—it w^{ld} be *madness* to expose herself to the fatigue of a journey up in this severe weather & to the g^t agitation & excitement of going to open Parl^t & above *all* to the *totally unavoidable* exposure to Cold Drafts & heat.

Till these attacks showed themselves since the 2nd of Jan^y the Queen had *seriously* intended to try & make the effort of doing so;—tho' this g^t tendency to neuralgia w^h has hung about her for the last year & $\frac{1}{2}$ —but almost incessantly ever since Aug:—made her apprehensive that she might be unable to undertake it.

201 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Jan. 31. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and acknowledges Your Majesty's gracious letter of the 30th. He much laments the loss of any opportunity of confirming, on an occasion like the opening of the coming Session, that conception of a direct relation between Your Majesty and the people at large, which must be reckoned as holding no mean place among the practical supports of the Monarchy. But he is certain that none of Your Majesty's subjects would wish the Parliament to be opened by Your Majesty in Person, at the cost of injury to Your Majesty's health, or such a proceeding to be decided upon by Your Majesty

except with a full conviction of its safety as well as of its expediency.

Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that it might be advantageous were he, and likewise Lord Granville, authorised to state, should a perfectly suitable occasion offer, that Your Majesty had desired to meet Your Parliament personally at the opening of the Session, but had been prevented by recent indisposition, and by the risk of exposure in connection therewith. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 31. 1870.

The Queen has seen a most interesting letter from Mr. Odo Russell,¹ & hopes that the denunciation of the Fenians from the Altars in Ireland may have the desired effect, tho' she cannot say she herself expects much from it.—

We have had too many proofs, not only of the want of influence, but of the utter powerlessness, of either Bishops or Priests to *controul* the passions of the People, however powerful they may be to inflame them.

This is probably the secret of the recommendation by the Bishops, to surrender to one portion of the disaffected Irish by granting "fixity of tenure" & to the others by releasing the Prisoners.

The Queen has no fear of the Government adopting either of these suggestions; but she wishes to express her hope, that in his communications with the Pope, Mr. Russell has been careful to say nothing which c^d lead to the supposition that *we* are *ourselves unable* to maintain order in Ireland.—This to a Foreign Sovereign w^{ld} be too humiliating. Even in speaking to the Irish Bishops they sh^d be made clearly to understand that the Gov^t had the POWER, & were *determined* to exercise it, of *maintaining* the authority of the Law.—

Indeed the Queen cannot help regretting that some energetic declaration to that effect was not made long ago.—

The Queen must take this opportunity of correcting a mistake w^b Mr. Gladstone seems to have made with respect to her last letter.—Her remarks applied not to the measure itself, but to the *reasons* given for it.—These seemed to imply that the grievance

¹ Then on Special (Foreign Office) Service at Rome.

Majesty would graciously authorize the Princess Louise to accompany Their Royal Highnesses Mrs. Gladstone and he would be very grateful. Mr. Gladstone presumed so far as to open this suggestion to the Prince, who was pleased to favour it. If it is too bold Mr. Gladstone has only to ask Your Majesty's pardon.

210 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Feb. 15. 1870.

The Queen is grieved to hear so indifferent an acc^t of Mr. Bright & L^d Clarendon. . . .

It is very kind of Mr. & Mrs. Gladstone to ask P^{ness} Louise—but she never dines out except at Marlborough House.¹

211 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

Confidential.

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 21. 1870.

The Queen wrote to Mr. Gladstone lately respecting a Stall & she wishes now to state confidentially the reasons for her anxiety to obtain one as soon as possible.

Mr. Gladstone is aware that the Rev. Mr. Duckworth has been for some time (2 years & $\frac{1}{2}$) Governor to Prince Leopold. . . .

The question then is what reward can be given to Mr. Duckworth, suitable to his merits, w^h can be conferred upon him at the same time that the Queen intends to part with him.

The Queen certainly thinks that according to all precedent any Clergyman who has been at the head of the education of any of her sons ought to have some dignity in his profession bestowed upon him & the more so, if that Clergyman besides, is personally worthy of it. Mr. Duckworth was a first class man at Oxford, is now a fellow of his College, is an accomplished scholar & clever man, & will prove after practice, from what the Queen knows of him, a good preacher. . . .

212 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 22. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and with reference to Your Majesty's wish concerning Mr. Duckworth humbly states that he apprehends there can be no doubt either of Mr. Duckworth's merits and accomplishments, or of his just

¹ With the Prince of Wales.

claim after the service rendered to Your Majesty to professional preferment. Before communicating however with the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Gladstone humbly submits to Your Majesty whether a parochial benefice would not be in the first instance the most appropriate as well as the readier form of acknowledgment. For in the first instance Your Majesty will doubtless bear in mind the great reduction which has taken place in the number of Stalls in the gift of the Crown : and Mr. Gladstone doubts whether for many years, perhaps since the Act of 1840, anyone has been appointed to a Stall at so early an age as Mr. Duckworth's, or without going through a career of service in the Church either by holding a parochial benefice or otherwise. Mr. Gladstone would also observe that Mr. Tarver, tutor to the Prince of Wales, has received a living only in which he has had the opportunity that a Stall in many cases fails to give, of proving his capacity by service. And he apprehends that dissatisfaction might follow were a different course to be pursued. . . .

213

*Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *Feb. 24. 1870.*

. . . The Queen sends an interesting & vy confidential letter from Col. Elphinstone, w^b she w^{ld} ask him to show to Ld Clarendon & L^d Granville.—

She must say that she thinks she *ought* to have been informed beforehand that the American Gov^t meant to have behaved so rudely—for she w^{ld} hardly have exposed her Son to such usage had she been aware of it.—

It must have been a very anxious time for Colonel Elphinstone.

214 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *24th Feb. 1870.*

. . . Mr. Gladstone has seen the Dean of Windsor to-day and he will communicate with the Lord Chancellor with respect to the question of a provision for Mr. Duckworth.

215 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *25 Feb. 1870.*

. . . Your Majesty's Advisers were not less surprised than Your Majesty at the vulgarity, for such it appears to be, of the President's

conduct to Prince Arthur. As Your Majesty will remember in Tennyson's *Genevieve*,

Scorn was allowed as part of his defeat.

Yet though it might not have been right to expose the Prince knowingly to this kind of reception, ill manners well borne help to prove high manners, and can injure none but those who show them. At New York, the constant pressure of electioneering motives accounts for all shortcomings without justifying them. But Boston may be taken in this case as the truest type of American sentiment: and this is the more satisfactory, because probably in no place is there a more decided feeling on the Alabama question.

The plot of the 6 men may probably have been for the carrying off of Prince Arthur. The *generally* favourable reception of the Irish Land Bill without doubt tends to exasperate the Fenians, and renders more probable any attempt, however hopeless, at outrages from that quarter.

Both Mr. Thornton and Colonel Elphinstone appear to have discharged admirably well very arduous duties. . . .

216 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *March 8. 1870.*

The Queen sees in today's papers a report of the P^{ce} of Wales's visit to Ireland at Easter.

The Queen has not heard a word of it from the P^{ce} of Wales—nor can she believe it. But supposing such a thing to be contemplated the Queen trusts that Mr. Gladstone will put a stop to it, or at least point out that in the *present* State of Ireland the Queen *cd* not allow her Son to go there.

One party,—the ultra Protestant is sure to make dangerous demonstrations wh^h might seriously compromise the P. of W. & put him in opposition to the Gov^t.

217 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *March 9. 1870.*

The Queen found after she wrote to Mr. Gladstone that there was no ground for the report of the P. of Wales's going to Ireland

218 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 2 April. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet have this day been engaged in considering the Parliamentary business of the coming week. They resolved, among other things, that it would be right to resist the introduction of a bill for the payment of M.P.s, which will be proposed on Tuesday: and that to a question to be put by Mr. Buxton on Friday they would reply that they did not propose to advise Your Majesty to issue a commission for the purpose of revising the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures. Mr. Gladstone is happy to think that after the melancholy death of General Grey¹ Your Majesty will be relieved from seeing company at present, and, subject to Your Majesty's pleasure and convenience, he holds himself with his wife and daughter in readiness to obey Your Majesty's most gracious commands for Saturday next. . . .

219 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. April 3. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind letter & it is indeed a necessity for her to be quite quiet now—for she feels the effects of the anxiety of the past week & of the loss of a true & faithful friend of 33 years standing.

As the last sad Ceremony takes place on Thursday—the Queen w^{ld} wish to have the Council either on Wednesday or Friday at 3.—

Tho' the Queen does not wish it to be spoken about till *after* the funeral she will now inform Mr. Gladstone that she intends to appoint Col. Ponsonby whom she has now known for many years as dear General Grey's successor.—

When the poor General talked of wishing to resign last year, he himself mentioned him as very fit for this post—in w^h Sir Thomas Biddulph who will assist him in every way, entirely agreed. Lord Clarendon knows him well. He has excellent abilities & is v^y discreet. He was P. Sec^y to 3 successive Lord Lieutenants w^h naturally gives him much experience in such duties.

¹ Private Secretary to the Queen, who died March 31, 1870.

220 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *April 3. 1870.*

The Queen omitted in her letter of this afternoon saying that she w^{ld} have much pleasure in seeing Mr. Gladstone with Mrs. Gladstone, & their eldest daughter next Saturday.

221 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *April 4. 1870.*

. . . While deeply sympathising with Your Majesty in regard to the loss of General Grey, Mr. Gladstone so far as his limited means of judgment go, believes that Your Majesty has wisely chosen a successor to that faithful and lamented servant in the person of Colonel Ponsonby.

222 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *April 11-12, 1870.*

. . . Mr. Gladstone is very grateful for Your Majesty's most kind reception of himself with his wife and daughter at Windsor. Though it is always with some regret that he finds himself or anyone connected with him becoming the occasion of any addition small or great to Your Majesty's cares. He hopes Your Majesty's cold is better.

223 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *April 12. 1870.*

The Queen is glad to hear of the reduction in the Income Tax, & in the Sugar both w^h will be very welcome.

The Queen was v^y much pleased to see Mr. & Mrs. Gladstone & thinks Mr. Gladstone will not be displeased at her saying what a charming girl Agnes is.—

Poor dear Lady Lyttelton still lives !

The Queen's cold is better & she thinks the change of air will quite take it away.

224 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. *April 26. 1870.*

The Queen has been deeply grieved at the terrible Greek Tragedy.¹ Will nothing be done to mark our indignation ? Clearly

¹ The murder of a party of Englishmen by Greek bandits, April 21, 1870.

the Greek Gov^t are entirely answerable for what has occurred & ought to make some reparation.

225 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *April 27. 1870.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and in acknowledging Your Majesty's letter of yesterday has to state that the Cabinet met to-day and considered as much at large as the present state of their information would permit the deplorable events which have occurred and their own duty in connection with them. With respect to the responsibility of the Greek Government for these horrible murders, the most material points of enquiry are not cleared up. It may prove to be complete or to be greatly qualified. . . .

226 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. *May 6. 1870.*

. . . The circumstances respecting the Bill to give women the same position as men with respect to Parliamentary franchise gives her an opportunity to observe that she had for some time past wished to call Mr. Gladstone's attention to the mad & utterly demoralizing movement of the present day to place women in the same position as to professions—as *men*;—& amongst others, in the *Medical Line*.

She wishes to draw Mr. Gladstone's attention *especially* to the Speeches of Professor Laycock & Dr. Christison (her own Physician in Scotland) on a late occasion in Edinburgh w^h she thought excellent. And she is *most* anxious that it sh^{ld} be known how she not only disapproves but *abhors* the attempts to destroy all propriety & womanly feeling w^h will inevitably be the result of what has been proposed. The Queen is a woman herself—& knows what an anomaly her *own* position is :—but that can be reconciled with reason & propriety tho' it is a terribly difficult & trying one. But to tear away all the barriers w^h surround a woman, & to propose that they sh^{ld} study with *men*—things w^h c^{ld} not be named before them—certainly not *in a mixed* audience—w^{ld} be to introduce a total disregard of what must be considered as belonging to the rules & principles of morality.

The Queen feels so strongly upon this dangerous & unchristian & unnatural *cry* & movement of “woman's rights,”—in w^h she

knows Mr. Gladstone *agrees*, (as he sent her that excellent Pamphlet¹ by a Lady) that she is most anxious that Mr. Gladstone & others sh^{ld} take some steps to check this alarming danger & to make whatever use they can of her name.

She sends the letters w^h speak for themselves.

Let woman be what God intended ; a helpmate for a man—but with totally different duties & vocations.

227 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. May 7. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone . . . with reference to the letter he has had the honour to receive from Your Majesty on the subject of the so-called woman's rights, reports that the Cabinet will support a motion of which notice has been given by Mr. Bouverie, for the rejection of the Bill.

It occurs to Mr. Gladstone that, Your Majesty having been pleased to express approval of Miss (or Mrs.) Kortwright's pamphlet on this subject, Your Majesty might not be disinclined to permit this approval to be made known either through Mr. Gladstone or through any other more suitable medium to the authoress.

Mr. Gladstone returns the letters, which Your Majesty was so good as to forward.

228 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. May 8. 1870.

The Queen is glad that the Govt will support Mr. Bouverie's motion—but she *feels* the danger as regards the subject she attended to to be so *very serious* that she is determined for the *salvation* of the *young women* of this country—& their *rescue* from *immorality* to do *every* thing she *can* to put a check to it.—She wishes Mr. Gladstone w^{ld} send for & see Sir W^m Jenner who can tell him what an *awful* idea this is—of allowing *young girls* & young men to *enter* the dissecting room together. . . .

The only reason why the Queen w^{ld} pause before she gives her *entire* approval of Miss Kortwright's pamphlet—is because she rather praises that *Mary Walker*² who is a very objectionable woman. . . .

¹ v. 205.

² Dr. Mary E. Walker had lectured in England in 1866-7.

229 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 9 May, 1870.

. . . Mr. Gladstone thought it possible Your Majesty might not be altogether pleased with the allusion to Dr. Mary Walker ; & on the whole he supposed that Your Majesty's view of the question of women's rights may perhaps be less advantageously conveyed through ministers than through some occasional and unofficial medium. . . .

230 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. May 11. 1870.

. . . Sir W. Jenner was good enough to call on Mr. Gladstone this day, and to state what greatly confirmed all Mr. Gladstone's previous impressions upon more general and less definite information with respect to the repulsive subject of any combination of men and women in the reception of some of the instruction absolutely necessary for the effective pursuit of the medical profession.

Mr. Gladstone takes the liberty of forwarding a humble communication from his wife.

He hopes Your Majesty did not suffer to-day at the opening of the Buildings of the London University.

231 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. June 2. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his various reports & is glad that the Irish Land Bill has passed the House of Commons.

She perceives *every* day more grasp of the unpopularity & want of good management & fitness of Mr. Ayrton¹ & she *must* urge on Mr. Gladstone the necessity, for the honour of the Govt. of not retaining him in his present position.—

He can surely not be worth all this annoyance, & Mr. Gladstone will recollect how much the Queen opposed his app^t to the important office he holds & that he promised the Queen that the *1st* act of indiscretion sh^d insure his removal.

But there have been several & still he remains.

If it cannot be done in a hurry let it at least be at the er . .

¹ First Commissioner of Works.

the Session—& a gentleman of taste & discretion be appointed to fill that place. We have most splendid weather. The sun rather too hot—but the Country in the gtest beauty & the Queen never remembers to have seen it so forward.

She hopes Mr. Gladstone will get a few days rest & fresh air. . . .

232 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

WALMER CASTLE. 7 June. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty. With respect to Mr. Ayrton, it was always to be feared some difficulties would arise; and Mr. Gladstone freely engaged that in case his department and proceedings, in his relations with Your Majesty, should prove unsatisfactory, the matter should be promptly dealt with.

Since that time, if Mr. Gladstone well remembers, three cases of difficulty, visible to the public have arisen. . . .

Your Majesty may rely upon it that this subject will not escape the attention of the Government.—Indeed that attention is likely to be disagreeably kept alive, apart from considerations of duty, by untoward occurrences. It is to be regretted that Mr. Ayrton should err in point of tact and discretion; for his ability, his integrity and the general goodness of his intentions are really beyond doubt. Probably the discussions on the Estimates of his Department will throw further light upon his position.

Mr. Gladstone rejoices to hear of the fine weather at Balmoral, while he does not doubt that Your Majesty has acted most wisely in leaving Prince Leopold in the South. With his wife he returns to London to-morrow, after a delightful visit at Walmer.

233 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 27 June, 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and regrets that he was at Ashridge at the time of the deplorable event which has deprived Your Majesty of a most experienced, able and devoted servant, and the existing Cabinet of a much loved and valued Colleague.¹

¹ On returning to Town soon after noon, he communicated with Mr. Granville respecting the Royal Entertainments of the week,

¹ Lord Clarendon died, June 27, 1870.

and with Mr. Hammond¹ respecting the conduct of the business of the Foreign Office during the interval before a new Secretary of State is appointed.

It would be painful to the feelings of all even in a case where the Headship of a Department can so ill be left in abeyance to proceed with the arrangements rendered necessary by the death of Lord Clarendon for some days : but aware of Your Majesty's lively interest in the Foreign Department Mr. Gladstone cannot hesitate to state that, when the proper time comes, he will ask Lord Granville's leave to recommend him to Your Majesty as the successor to Lord Clarendon, should he be disposed to undertake the charge. Mr. Gladstone learns from Lord Hyde that Lady Clarendon has borne this heavy bereavement as well as could have been expected.

234 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *June 28. 1870.*

Mr. Gladstone was right in thinking how grieved she is at Lord Clarendon's sudden death,—at least so far sudden that till Saturday ev^g there was no serious alarm—& that on Sunday *afternoon* Dr. Gull still wrote that there was "cause for considerable anxiety" but *not* "for alarm"!—

He is in many ways a v^y serious loss & he was much attached to the Queen.

Painful as it is to think of a successor—the Queen herself feels that one must do so,—& Lord Granville is the *only really* fit *person* for that important post. She fears Mr. Childers² is seriously ill also : & she hears that Mr. Cardwell³ is quite worked to death.

All this may lead to serious changes.

235 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 28 *June, 1870.*

At Ashridge on Sunday Lady Marian Alford showed Mr. Gladstone the accompanying volume of Poems and especially the very beautiful version on her son the deceased Lord Brownlow inscribed "*In memoriam.*" Mr. Gladstone thought on reading

¹ Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

² First Lord of the Admiralty.

³ Secretary of State for War.

these that they would much interest Your Majesty and accordingly he presumes to send the book with his humble duty.

Should Your Majesty be so favourably impressed with them as to desire to have them, there are separate copies printed, of which he knows that Lady Marian Alford would feel highly honoured by the permission to transmit one through Mr. Gladstone.

The sad event of yesterday morning gives to these verses fresh force and significance.

236 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *June 28. 1870.*

The Queen returns this *Vol*: having read & g^{dy} admired the Lines. "*In Memoriam*"—*She* w^{ld} indeed be much pleased to possess a Copy of them.

237 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *30 June, 1870.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and observes with regret that through a double error two judicial appointments have been mentioned in the newspapers before, in the case of Sir W. James, the expression of Your Majesty's pleasure had been received, and in the case of Mr. Bacon before it had been asked.

The latter error happened in consequence of the belief of the Lord Chancellor that the appointment was in his hands. The former appears to have been due to inadvertence on the part of Sir W. James to whom Mr. Gladstone had only given the assurance that he should be named to Your Majesty.

Mr. Bacon, to whom the Lord Chancellor offered the Vice Chancellorship in error, is as Mr. Gladstone believes a most proper person and he therefore humbly submits the usual recommendation.

He will consider some means of preventing the recurrence of these miscarriages in future.

238 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *July 1. 1870.*

The Queen will be glad if Mr. Gladstone can put a stop to these
her premature announcements.

She sees Ld. Kimberley is announced as successor to Lord Granville.

Of course any one is at liberty to make conjectures—but there ought to be more discretion & reticence.

239 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 2. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letters.

The arrangement he proposes consequent on the lamented death of Lord Clarendon, viz: Ld Granville to be Foreign Secy, Ld Kimberley to succeed Ld. Granville as Colonial Secy, Ld Halifax to be Privy Seal & Mr. Forster¹ w^{ld} have a Seat in the Cabinet w^{ld} meet with the Queen's entire approval.

She *hopes* Ld Halifax will accept.

240 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone¹*

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 7. 1870.

I told The Queen that in reply to Her message you had said that as you understood from Lord Granville that Her Majesty had herself proposed next Wednesday for opening the Embankment you had lost no time in endeavouring to ascertain if Her Majesty's wishes could be gratified and that you were waiting for the reply of Sir W. Tite. But that you considered it right to say that in consequence of what she had said to Lord Granville you had given hopes that the Embankment would be opened by her in person.

The Queen wishes me to let you know that she can make no promise; that she is already suffering much from the heat and that she fears the meeting of the Windsor Association to-day, Aldershot on Saturday and the Workman's Exhibition on Monday will completely exhaust her and bring on headache and neuralgia—in which case it would be quite impossible for her to open the Embankment, but that she could send the Princess to act for her.

241 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. July 8, 1870.

. . . He has received Colonel Ponsonby's letter of yesterday written by Your Majesty's commands, with reference to the

¹ Vice-President of the Council.

² The Gladstone Trustees are indebted to the courtesy of the Rt. Hon. Sir F. Ponsonby, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., for permission to publish his father's letters to Mr. Gladstone.

Thames Embankment : and he will take the utmost care, if in consequence of Your Majesty's gracious intimation to Lord Granville the matter shall go further, that any expectation of Your Majesty's presence during the half hour or thereabouts, stated to be necessary for the purpose, much as it will be desired, shall be well understood (as was the case last year with reference to Blackfriars Bridge) by any of the authorities with whom he may communicate, to be entirely dependent on the state of Your Majesty's health and strength : which Your Majesty's subjects value much more even than their own intense interest in Your Majesty's appearances among them.

242

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

[Telegram]

July 9. 1870.

Have received your letter can hold out no hope for going on Wednesday the heat has upset me and besides such a succession of travelling and fatigues are far too much for me to undertake.

243 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 9 July 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly reports that very shortly after writing to Your Majesty yesterday on the subject of Your Majesty's gracious promise to open the Thames Embankment, he received from Sir J. Thwaites the acceptance with very grateful acknowledgment to Your Majesty of the Metropolitan Boards.

Mr. Gladstone has this morning received Your Majesty's telegram : but he is certain Your Majesty will at once perceive that, in the circumstances as they now stand, it would be unwise in him to attempt to withdraw Your Majesty's offer by any immediate communication. The promise will still remain entirely conditional on the state of Your Majesty's health and strength : and the indication by Your Majesty of the hour for the opening will in no degree alter the purely conditional character of the engagement.

244 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

9 July, 1870.

. . . Lord Granville detailed to the Cabinet the communications he had received and the steps he had taken respecting the

candidature of Prince Leopold for the Throne of Spain.¹ He also submitted the Drafts intended to go by messenger to-night, which were approved by the Cabinet.

245 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. II July, 1870. 2.30 p.m.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and in answer to the telegram in which Your Majesty referred to an announcement in the evening papers, hereby states that he did not receive that telegram until 2 o'clock when he judged it too late to send any communication with a view to publication to-day. But had it been earlier Mr. Gladstone would still have presumed to represent to Your Majesty that a withdrawal of Your Majesty's gracious offer of last week, except the time were close at hand, and except Your Majesty then found that the drive over the Embankment could not on grounds of health be undertaken would be most unfortunate. But such inability then existing and announced, would satisfy the public mind and Mr. Gladstone is sure Your Majesty will not only forgive but enter into his anxiety that no announcement of a nature to be misunderstood should go forth as from Your Majesty.

246 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. II July, 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly thanks Your Majesty for having permitted the Princess Louise to honour his wife and himself by her visit to their house to-day.

The Princess' gracious demeanour is the delight to all who see her.

247 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. II-12 July, 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that in answer to a question put this day in the House of Commons by Sir W. Hutt, he stated that Your Majesty's Government had learned on Tuesday last that Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen had been chosen by the Spanish Government

¹ The eventual *casus belli* between France and Germany.

as candidate for the Throne of Spain ; that the French Government had declared that the succession of the Prince to that Throne could not be tolerated by France ; that we were not aware that the Prussian Government had committed itself to the arrangement : and that Your Majesty's Government had used and would use all proper means towards the preservation of the peace of Europe. The House has spent the evening in committee on the Education Bill. . . .

248 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

11 July, 1870.

Am sent up to settle all with you and to ask the Prince Wales to perform ceremony.

249 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

6, CLOISTERS, WINDSOR. July 12. 1870.

I repeated to The Queen the substance of your remarks and the hope you expressed that Her Majesty's decision should not be announced till the last moment.

The Queen though most anxious that this notice should have appeared earlier, did not press this wish, but as The Queen thinks that the last moment has arrived Her Majesty has commanded me to have the announcement made in the evening papers.

250 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

12th July, 1870.

Many thanks for your note. I need not tell you that I receive it with deep and unmixed regret.

251 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 32.)

DOWNING STREET. July 14. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that this forenoon at the instance of Lord Granville he summoned the Cabinet to meet forthwith.

The Cabinet met at half past twelve and after hearing the telegrams and principal dispatches read decided upon sending suggestions both to Prussia and to France in the hope, though a faint hope, of averting the guilt and horror of war.

The suggestion to Prussia is that if France waive her demand for an engagement covering the future, the King shall thereupon in the interest of peace signify to France his consent to the withdrawal of the Candidature of Prince Leopold.

The suggestion to France is that her demand for such an engagement cannot be justly sustained; but notwithstanding that we have suggested to Prussia as stated above, while we trust that France having obtained the substance of her demand will in no case proceed to extremities.

It was also decided that in the event of any questions in Parliament to-day, Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone respectively should reply in general terms.

252 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. 15 July 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and prays Your Majesty to appoint a Council at Osborne on Monday at such hour as Your Majesty shall name with a view to passing the Proclamation of Neutrality which is rendered necessary by the lamentable outbreak of war between France and Prussia. It would be very gracious and would conduce to the public convenience if Your Majesty would please to reply by telegraph.

253 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 37.)

[*Telegram.*]

July 16. 1870.

Was prepared for the necessity for a council on account of this iniquitous war it can be at one on Monday but steps should be taken for our safety in case of need Parliament should not separate without some measures being taken to increase our efficiency in army and navy no one can tell what we may not be forced into this is an absolute necessity for the security of our beloved country and people.

254 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 37-9.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. July 16. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet met this day at noon and sat for near four hours.

Mr. Childers¹ was able to attend.

It being uncertain at what particular moment a state of War on the Continent will be established, it was determined to frame and keep in readiness a proclamation of neutrality, and to pray Your Majesty through Lord Halifax² to allow the engagement for a Council on Monday to stand over in case the time should not have arrived by to-morrow evening for the issue of such a Proclamation.

It was determined to introduce a Bill into Parliament to enlarge the powers of Your Majesty's Government for the seizure of vessels suspected of being intended to serve the purposes of Belligerents. A variety of other points connected with the duties of Neutrals were considered.

With reference to the subject of the telegram, which Mr. Gladstone had the honour to receive from Your Majesty this morning, he believes he would be justified in stating, that the defensive means of this country are greater than they have been at any period since the peace of 1815, except in the year 1856 before the War Establishment had been reduced.

The subject of these Establishments was brought before the Cabinet. The Cabinet considered that it would be impolitic in a high degree to make any proposal at the moment to Parliament respecting the Army and Navy on account of the shock it would give to public confidence with regard to the position of this country. Should a real necessity arise it would be the plain duty of Your Majesty's Government at once to act without the authority of Parliament, and to advise its being immediately assembled to pass its judgment on what they had done. The Secretary for War³ was requested to inquire and consider what could in case of necessity be promptly effected; and what means could be possibly adopted for improving our power of acting with despatch in case of need.

The Government determined that it would be well for them to continue to speak in public, and as far as possible even in private, with the reserve that has been hitherto maintained.

At the same time their opinion is that, whatever may be said of the prior conduct of Prussia, France has entirely failed to show in the circumstances of the present crisis, any adequate warrant for breaking the peace of Europe. This failure is accompanied in

¹ First Lord of the Admiralty.

² Lord Privy Seal.

³ Mr. Cardwell.

the ministerial statement of yesterday at Paris, with a hardihood of assertion, which it is painful to witness.

But the duty of Your Majesty's Government is to maintain that attitude of impartiality which may fit them, at some future stage, to be of use to both the parties.

France has made highly satisfactory declarations with respect to the neutrality of Belgium.

The Government will by acknowledging these declarations endeavour to give them all possible weight and solemnity ; and will pointedly recommend them to the consideration of the Government of Prussia. They will also endeavour without an official appeal to learn how far Luxemburg may be included in these assurances. . . .

255 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 18. 1870.*

. . . He has prayed Your Majesty this afternoon by telegraph to be pleased to hold a Council to-morrow at the usual hour : news of the Declaration of War, and of the refusal at Paris of our appeal to the Protocol of 1856, having been received.

He has also to state to Your Majesty that it will greatly contribute to the comfort and convenience of the Princess of Wales, if Your Majesty will graciously permit the Royal Yacht to be employed for bringing H.R.H. back to Copenhagen. The Admiralty see very great objection to sending the *Ariadne* : and as this cannot be done, the Prince of Wales would be sorry to see the Princess exposed to the chances of our Northern Seas in a vessel like the *Enchantress* : and indeed Mr. Gladstone is given to understand that that ship would not supply proper accommodation for the Family and party.

Mr. Gladstone has seen the Prince of Wales to-day on the subject of his meditated voyage : and has submitted to H.R.H. the expediency of an early departure, and of the shortest possible visit as his stay in Copenhagen at this moment might be the subject of comment and suspicion : also of an extreme reserve in regard to the expression of opinion on the causes of this miserable war, and the merits of the respective parties to the quarrel.

256

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2), II, 39-40.)

OSBORNE. July 18. 1870.

In the present state of Affairs when, as proved by the example on the Continent, Great Britain may be exposed to a sudden & unexpected attack at any moment, the Queen is anxious to be *assured* that the defences of the United Kingdom are on a *satisfactory* footing as regards men, buildings & material, & since the Army & Navy are both on a Peace Establishment the Queen would be glad to learn what provision is made for immediately placing the services upon a War footing in case of need.—

The Queen is glad to find from Mr. Gladstone's letter that the subject has not escaped the notice of the Cabinet & she concurs in the opinion that it w^{ld} be undesirable to create alarm by any public expression of anxiety on this subject.—

Lord Halifax has shown the Queen the Memorandum drawn up by Mr. Cardwell that there are 88,000 regular Troops in the United Kingdom (a number in excess of that reported by the Commander in Chief) and that of these 20,000 c^{ld} take the field at the *end* of *three weeks* if *great exertions* were made.—

The Queen *cannot* conceal her disappointment & uneasiness at this statement which implies that in case of emergency England must be far behind hand with other Continental powers, two of whom have in a few days placed large forces in the field & are to all appearances ready for action.

As regards the Navy, the Queen believes that the British Fleet is in a state of great efficiency, but she has had no reports from the Admiralty on the state of the Seamen afloat, on the Reserve or on the power of increasing the Forces at Sea.

The Queen w^{ld} be glad to receive an assurance that the state of her Dockyards is satisfactory & that they can be at once made available for War purposes if required.

Although the Queen feels confident that the *efficiency* of her Army & Navy has been the *object* of the recent reforms effected in these Services, she considers it her *duty* to *impress most strongly* upon her Ministers the *paramount* importance of being *fully prepared* for any possible danger as the surest way of averting War.

257

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. July 19. 1870.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's Letter rec^d this morn^g. She entirely agrees in the importance of the P^{cess} of Wales's return & of the P^{ce}'s stay at Copenhagen being as *short as possible*.

He is *v*^y imprudent, alas! The P^{cess} *v*^y violent in her anti-Prussian feelings & the Queen of Denmark—*v*^y intriguing.

The Queen feels bound to tell this to Mr. Gladstone as well as to send him this touching letter from the poor Cr. P^{cess}.

The Queen at once telegraphed to the P. of Wales what the P^{cess} says & the P^{ce} answered that "to the best of his belief it was false."

It is not a question of *Prussia* agst France but of *United Germany* most *unjustifiably attacked*, fighting for hearth & Home—& *no one can* help feeling warmly for them.

Right is right. God grant for *all* this—we may be able to keep quite *clear* of the War, tho' no one can tell. The Queen will have little peace of mind while this War lasts—for *all* her nearest & dearest & all she holds most dear next to her own beloved Country—will be in danger of life & home. It is a dreadful thing & makes one feel that Foreign Connections are a great misfortune.

(Copy)

ENCLOSURE

The Crown Princess of Prussia to Queen Victoria

POTSDAM. July 16. 1870.

You must forgive me if my letter is rambling and incoherent—for my head is completely so—fright, agitation and sorrow have shaken my nerves very much.

All hope is now at an end and we see the horrible prospect of the most terrible war Europe has yet known before us, bringing desolation and ruin perhaps annihilation! You would pity me if you knew what my moral and mental suffering is to-day! and yet the only way to get through such a trial is to keep cool brains and a stout heart—the *latter* I have!

We have been shamefully forced into this war—and the feeling of indignation against an act of such crying injustice has risen in

two days here to such a pitch that you would hardly believe it, there is a universal cry, "to arms" to resist an enemy who so wantonly insult us.

We are grateful indeed to Providence that you are on the throne of England and that your Government has again so wisely and zealously advocated peace and tried to call the French to their senses,—the British sense of justice will I am sure not be blinded by the French press.

Bernstorff¹ writes that Bertie² has expressed his delight to Count Apponyi³ that the Austrians were going to join the French—and his hope that we should fare ill. This he is said to have loudly expressed at a dinner of the French ambassador's. Perhaps it is exaggerated, but of course it is a story related everywhere. . . .

258 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 19, 1870.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and has received this evening Your Majesty's letter of to-day. To Your Majesty's Telegram of this morning he replied by Telegraph: and he assures Your Majesty that he took the liberty of speaking very explicitly yesterday to the Prince of Wales on the necessity of his keeping back at this juncture whatever private sentiments he may entertain on the disastrous War.

Probably as it occurs to Mr. Gladstone no formal representation on the subject could be more completely effectual with the Prince of Wales as the knowledge of the words of the Crown Princess in the letter transmitted (in copy) by Your Majesty; words simple and uncomplaining, but written evidently with deep feeling.

Mr. Gladstone feels for himself as well as others how difficult it will be, at a crisis which provokes almost every moment both feeling and judgment, to maintain the reserve which, in the peculiar position of this country, prudence absolutely requires.

Mr. Gladstone deeply sympathises with Your Majesty in all the personal and parental feelings, which must add so much to the grief of which all feel their share.

¹ Prussian Ambassador in London.

² The Prince of Wales.

³ Austrian Ambassador in London.

259 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 40-2.)

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 19 July 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and has had the honour to receive this afternoon Your Majesty's letter of July 18. Mr. Gladstone is sure that all his colleagues are deeply impressed with the gravity of the present crisis.

A war of exasperation, such as this, between France and Prussia comes nearer home to this country, than any of the wars of this generation in which she has not taken part.

None of the great states of Europe have as yet given notes of military preparation; and probably if they were to do so, it would tend to spread a general alarm. But Your Majesty's Government are fully sensible of the necessity and duty of a careful survey at this time of the definite establishment of the Country, an exact estimate of what they in all likelihood can or cannot do, and a consideration of the means and time necessary for strengthening and enlarging them in case of need.

As respects the Navy Your Majesty will not be displeased to learn the augmentation of available force in 1870 as compared with 1866.

IRONCLADS IN COMMISSION

	1866	1870
Ships . . .	13	23
Tons . . .	43,537	100,357
Men . . .	5,513	10,766

All these are at home or in the Mediterranean.

So much for Ironclads, which represent the most effective kind of force, apart from its mere amount.

In vessels other than Ironclads there is a diminution, but the aggregate of Force is increased by about 20,000 tons again as to the Reserves.

	1866	1870
Ironclads . . .	7	8
Frigates . . .	3	5
Corvettes . . .	1	5
Smaller vessels . . .	7	15

As regards other points, Mr. Gladstone will make known Your Majesty's wishes to Mr. Childers.

With reference to the Army, further inquiries have led to more

satisfactory results than those which had reached Your Majesty ; with reference to our power of prompt and energetic action on a moderate scale.

Mr. Gladstone is assured that 20,000 men can be ready to quit the country in 48 hours : a promptitude greater he believes, than that which at the time of the Trent affair¹ excited some admiration. Having enquired as to Transport for such a force, he is informed by Mr. Childers that it could probably be ready in three days. But this matter will be more minutely examined and measures have been taken, which Mr. Gladstone hopes will, within a few days, place the Government in possession of pretty full information on all the points to which he has referred above as requiring careful examination at this grave crisis of European affairs.

260

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. *July 21. 1870.*

The Queen has commanded me to thank you for your excellent letter to the Prince of Wales in which you so firmly but at the same time so judiciously pointed out to His Royal Highness the great necessity of circumspection in his acts and words in all matters having reference to the War.

The Queen is sorry to hear that you have not been well but expresses a hope that you have quite recovered.

261 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 46-7.)

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 25 *July. 1870.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and acknowledges Your Majesty's gracious letter of yesterday.

Your Majesty will in common with the world have been shocked and startled at the publication in to-day's *Times* of a proposed project of Treaty between France and Prussia.*

A large portion of the public put down this document as a forgery and indeed a hoax. Mr. Gladstone fears it is neither. Count Bismarck at this time speaks freely of it : and Count Bernstorff *

¹ Dispute with U.S.A. in 1861.

² A draft treaty ceding Belgium and Luxemburg to France, submitted by Benedetti to Bismarck in 1866, and disclosed by Bismarck in 1870.

* Prussian Ambassador in London.

a few days back informed Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone that it existed in the handwriting of Count Benedetti.¹ This communication was made to them personally, in strict secrecy. Probably the object of the Prussian Government was to prompt them to become the agents for making it known to the world. This Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone thought no part of their duty. They entered into no compact respecting the intelligence, but determined to take time to consider it : with an expectation, which has now been fulfilled, that it would find its way into print by some other agency.

Mr. Disraeli has notified to Mr. Gladstone his intention to make an inquiry on the subject to-day : and Mr. Gladstone incloses to Your Majesty a rough draft of the sort of answer which he is to make on the part of the Government.

Your Majesty's advisers are deeply sensible of the gravity of the subject : but it is just possible, and Mr. Gladstone clings to the hope, that further information may reduce, though it can hardly destroy, its importance.

It may on the other hand materially alter, in a very brief period, the mutual aspects of the Powers of Europe.

The Cabinet considered further the question of Army Stores : and authorised the Secretary for War to carry on at his discretion the manufacture of Snyder's Rifles, and of Torpedoes without a minute regard to the amount of his vote should he find it necessary to incur a risk of somewhat exceeding it.

Mr. Childers will by altering the application of the Naval Building Vote procure at an early date a considerable augmentation of the Iron Built Naval force of the country.

The Archbishop of Canterbury having written to Mr. Gladstone to inquire the views of the Government respecting the preparation of a special form of Prayer for Peace, Mr. Gladstone has been authorised to inform his Grace that they would not desire to advise it under present circumstances : the course of precedent is against it.

The Cabinet disposed of various questions of Parliamentary business.

Lord Granville has given Mr. Gladstone to understand that he will be unable to proceed to Balmoral with Your Majesty and that Your Majesty appeared to desire that Mr. Gladstone should go in

¹ Formerly French Ambassador to Prussia.

his stead. Mr. Gladstone's first wish always is that these opportunities should as far as possible be used for increasing Your Majesty's knowledge of those younger Ministers, whose services will, he trusts, be available for the throne during many years yet to come : but if Your Majesty is pleased to entertain the slightest wish for Mr. Gladstone's presence in Scotland next month, it will be alike his duty and his pleasure to accompany Your Majesty in the place of Lord Granville.

262 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 25-6. 1870.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that Mr. Disraeli put his question to-day evidently in much perplexity as to the facts connected with the prospect of Treaty but in terms by no means exaggerating the gravity of the subject matter.

Your Majesty will naturally wish to know what is said or thought on this extraordinary business. As far as Mr. Gladstone perceives at this early moment, men's minds are divided, some treating the document as a forgery and those who do not so treat it regarding it with extreme horror.

It was sufficiently believed in the City to act upon the Funds. It is said that M. Lavalette¹ stoutly denies. Although it is evidently put forward by Prussian agency, the French authorship of it is questioned on two grounds : first the grammar and idiom are said not to be good : secondly the name of the King of Prussia preceding that of the Emperor of the French gives evidence, it is said, that the draft is of Prussian origin. Mr. Gladstone will not presume to pronounce on the value of these indications, especially as the next few days are likely to supply ample information. . . .

263 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 26. 1870.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and in reply to Your Majesty's inquiry whether it would be well to address questions to the French Government respecting the project of Treaty just divulged, he humbly thinks that the force of circumstances will draw much information from that

¹ French Ambassador in London.

Government and that it may be better to let the stream flow spontaneously without in any way compromising our title to apply for ulterior explanations if at the proper time it should seem necessary.

264 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 26 July, 1870.

Mr. Gladstone . . . has had the honour to receive Colonel Ponsonby's letter of this day written by command of Your Majesty.

Mr. Cardwell has a Bill in Parliament which is intended to provide a reserve of old soldiers ready at any time to resume their duties in the ranks and competent without an interval to perform them.

In a very few cases, the battalions of 500 might be strengthened by exhausting a small margin still remaining on the vote for men, and applying it for that purpose.

Any enlargement of those battalions on a sensible scale by recruiting could only take place under the actual or anticipated authority of Parliament. An application to Parliament for that purpose would be an extremely grave matter ; likely, unless the necessity were clear to create debate in the House of Commons if not in both Houses, and capable of exerting an influence on the external aspects of the position of the country, and on the views and action of other Powers which would require most mature consideration before taking any step.

The explanations of the "project of Treaty" may materially bear on the case ; on which the Cabinet will probably deliberate next Saturday when it may be hoped that those explanations will have made considerable progress if indeed they shall not be complete.

265 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 537.)

OSBORNE. July 29. 1870.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's Letter of today.

She is glad to hear that the very serious aspect of affairs—as regards our Army & the Line w^h we may have to take with respect to the integrity of Belgium is to be seriously considered in the Cabinet tomorrow. The feeling in the Country & in Parlt

the Queen feels sure is—for measures being taken, before the Session closes as expressed by Ld. Russell—*quietly* to increase our forces.—And she thinks also that a decided expression on the part of the Govt of England's *not* to allow Belgium to be attacked w^{ld} have the v^y best effect & w^{ld} prevent a greater extension of this wicked war.—

To call Parlt together again in the interim w^{ld} cause far g^{ter} alarm & be as it always is—v^y unpopular.

The Queen hopes & thinks that this will be fully considered.

266 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 53-5.)

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 30 July. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the Cabinet has this day been engaged in considering the duties, which may be incumbent on Great Britain under present circumstances both as to the Military and Naval Establishments, and as to its relations with Foreign Powers.

They feel that the explanations which have thus far appeared in regard to the notorious Project of Treaty are unsatisfactory: and that the best method of dealing with the subject amidst its many difficulties is to find a new point of departure, from which new securities if possible may be taken, for the safety of Belgium, and against the possibility of any combination of the two Belligerents for the purpose of its destruction as a neutral and independent state.

The Cabinet have felt that it is impossible to exaggerate the value of time in this matter, and that the news of a great battle between the two Belligerents might virtually alter the whole conditions of the question. But it seems to them that a great public and European advantage might be gained if at this time both France and Prussia could be brought to enter into engagements respecting Belgium, which would fill up what is wanting or uncertain in their declarations of neutrality.

The Cabinet have therefore agreed that Lord Granville should ask each of these powers separately whether it is willing not only to respect the neutrality of Belgium, but to join in upholding it, if it should be invaded by another Power.

Aware of Your Majesty's desire that every measure should be

taken for the defence of Belgium, and pressed as they are by time, they have authorised Lord Granville at once to send off this proposal as he will explain to Your Majesty at Osborne.

Russia and Austria, in the view of the Cabinet, should be invited to adhere to each of the two arrangements if completed.

The Cabinet have also determined to lay on the Table an Estimate for a Vote of Credit of Two millions to increase our Naval and Military strength, and to ask for authority to add 20,000 men to the army. These votes will in the regular course be taken on Tuesday morning.

Mr. Gladstone had the honour on Wednesday of receiving a visit from Prince Arthur. He only echoes the general opinion in saying that the Prince's frank, intelligent and engaging manners adorn the high station which he holds.

267

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 3. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his communication relative to the Living for Mr. Duckworth.—

She will wait till she hears from the Dean before she communicates with Mr. Duckworth.—

The Queen feels the g^t anxiety the present time must cause Mr. Gladstone & Ld Granville.—

She however has a harder time with 2 dear sons-in-law, her Husband's only brother & other near relations & friends *all* engaged, & with the fear of not being able to do a single thing for them beyond offering up her daily prayers for their safety & that of their Hearths & Homes !—

It is an awful time.

268

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 3. 1870.

The Queen has only just time to read this letter from her brother¹ w^h she wishes sh^d be seen by Mr. Gladstone & some or all of the other Ministers. The danger *for the future* is what seriously alarms *her*.—

Germany as a real & our natural ally would always be safe—*never aggressive*.

¹ The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, brother of the Prince Consort.

The Queen will write again tomorrow.

The latter part of the letter c^{ld} be scratched out as unnecessary for others to see.

ENCLOSURE

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha to Queen Victoria

[Translation]

CALLENBERG. 25 July 1870.

DEAREST VICTORIA

Before I leave home in order to take my part in this sanguinary war, I feel that I ought to send you a few parting words, in order to express to you my pleasure in receiving from you such expressions of hearty sympathy and of the true perception of the present state of our affairs.

It would, it is true, have been difficult for England to check decisively the firm determination which existed in Paris, to break the peace, *even without provocation*. I am however of opinion that the position of England, as a guaranteeing Power, will require her to cry "halt" to her dangerous neighbour, should an undeserved success be achieved by France. What advantage can England derive from the extension of French territory, and the consequent weakening of that Central-Continental Power, which from natural causes can never be aggressive, and which is the Cradle of European science, art, and industry?

I am convinced, that you will, at the right time, succeed in bringing your Ministers to render a speedy peace possible by some energetic representations.

Would not England consider it regrettable, setting aside all the commercial disaster which this war must bring on her, if Germany were compelled by circumstances to throw herself into the arms of Russia? Conditions would be demanded from us which would render us supporters of Russian interests, more than could be pleasant to us, or beneficial to England. Nevertheless we must feel thankful to Napoleon, for by his affronts and demands on Germany he has awakened the spirit of the War of Liberation: that which no parliament or negotiation could have brought about, has been completed in 24 hours. Germany is now for the first time, united, and with inspired courage will defend her honour and her country. It is impossible to see this devotion and enthusiasm without emotion. Boys and greyheaded men, even though [not]

all capable of bearing arms, are already on the march, press forward to join and to bear the burden of the war.

It is difficult to know where all the volunteers can be placed.

The King has graciously offered to attach me to the Staff of the South Army, to be at the personal disposition of Fritz Wilhelm.¹ I look upon this offer as a favor and as a great mark of honor and distinction. In accordance with your wish, I will write to you direct as often as possible: I fear my news will not be very fresh, as letters must pass through Berlin and Holland: if our campaign is successful from the commencement, letters will arrive quicker by way of Belgium. You will perhaps be so kind as to keep Alfred informed of all that occurs. I shall leave Alexandrine here, and have advised her, in case of reverses on our side, to go to our Austrian estates, that is if the German Army should be forced to retire behind the Elbe, and our Duchies should be occupied by the enemy. . . .

269 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 4 August, 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that he has circulated among his colleagues the letter he had the honour to receive this day from Your Majesty together with its inclosure.

Your Majesty will doubtless rest assured that the administration of the laws of this country in regard to trade will be entirely impartial as between the belligerents; although it must be expected that those who are engaged in the agony of a deadly struggle will readily catch at causes of suspicion or complaint, and although even the most upright neutrality can hardly work in all cases with a perfect equality as between the contending parties.

Mr. Gladstone feels very deeply for the strain on Your Majesty's domestic affections, which, amidst so many other mischiefs, this unhappy war must bring. . . .

270 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Aug. 6. 1870.

. . . The Cabinet framed with Lord Granville a draft to be addressed to M. de Lavalette² in explanation of the projected

¹ Prince Frederick William, "the Red Prince."

² French Ambassador in London.

Treaty in relation to the neutrality of Belgium. From the communications which the French Ambassador has held with Lord Granville, and with Mr. Gladstone, there is reason to believe that with these explanations the Ambassador will recommend, and the French Government will accept, the engagement which has already been accepted by Prussia. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs desired an alteration of the instrument itself; but this, after the acceptance of Prussia, is thought to be impossible.

Lord Granville at once dispatched the draft from the Foreign Office to M. de Lavalette, in order that time might be saved.

It was decided that proper persons should be sent from the Admiralty and the War Office to Belgium to obtain an acquaintance with Antwerp and the Scheldt, and with the Belgian forces and establishments.

Further explanations will probably take place on Monday in both Houses of Parliament.

271 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Aug. II. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty to Your Majesty sends to Your Majesty M. de Laveleye's volume which contains the able essay on the career of King Leopold.

At the time when Mr. Gladstone ventured to recommend this Essay to Your Majesty's notice, he had forgotten a passage in which his own name is introduced together with others.

Mr. Gladstone takes the further liberty of sending a little book giving an account of the Ammergau Passion Play, which has been so mournfully interrupted. He thinks Your Majesty may be interested in it, and begs that in that case it may be retained. The author is a Mr. McColl; the same person who was concerned in an article in the *Times* favourably noticed by Your Majesty.

272 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Aug. 13. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his 2 letters & for the books. She will read the Essay as soon as she can & return it to Mr. Gladstone at Balmoral if possible.

She thanks him for the acc^t of the Ammergau Plays w^h is sure to be very interesting.

The acc^t of the dear C. Prince's¹ kindness to the wounded in yesterday's *Times* is vy touching—& the kindness of the German generals to the wounded & to the Prisoners is vy gratifying. There is a vy interesting acc^t in today's *Daily Telegraph* of the Hospitals etc.

The Queen is very proud of the Germans tho' she is vy sorry for the poor French *people*. She has heard from private sources the same report of the dreadful cruelty of the Turcos. . . .

273 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Aug. 15. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty.

The recollection of Your Majesty's kind words about his daughter will be to his wife and himself a lifelong pleasure. . . .

274 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

Memorandum. Aug. 16. 1870.

The Rev. Robinson Duckworth is humbly recommended to Your Majesty by Mr. Gladstone to be appointed to the Incumbency of St. Mark's, Hamilton Terrace, Regent's Park.

275 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. Aug. 20. 1870.

The Queen is sorry that Mr. Gladstone feels himself obliged to remain in the South for the present—but trusts affairs will allow him to come North ere long. The utter discomfiture of the French—in spite of the g^{test} bravery is marvellous! They must be ill led & their organization & tactics as bad as possible.

It is a *great* moral!

If only a siege of Paris c^{ld} be averted & the French w^{ld} treat! . . .

276 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 8 Sept. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and transmits for Your Majesty's perusal a copy (the original not being very easily made out) of a letter he has received from M. Cheva-

¹ The Crown Prince of Prussia.

lier,¹ and of his reply. M. Chevalier is now in a private station but he is probably in communication with persons in authority.

Although France is at present entirely blind to her own condition in regard to demanding certain terms of peace, it is apparently to be desired that the Germans should well weigh the difficulties which the altering Season will cause, and aggravate, as well as the possible modification of sentiment in neutral countries, and should take into account all the motives of far-sighted policy which ought to recommend moderation.

277

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 62-3.)

Memorandum

BALMORAL. September 9, 1870.

The French evidently wish for peace and are in the greatest want of it, but seem still to think *they* can dictate terms. This is madness. The great danger for us in interfering is to have the appearance of *wishing to prevent* Germany from making a lasting peace, and from obtaining such securities from her as may *really* prevent the recurrence of a *similar war* and the terrible *evil of constantly living* in dread of one every year (as has been the case for the last 6 or 7 years) thereby producing total insecurity and crippling her commerce and internal development. If *WE* appear to try and protect France and to try and prevent any territorial compensation (though the Queen thinks with Lord Halifax and the advocates of peace that it would *not be* a lasting security for peace but rather from the nature of the French people a cause of *perpetual irritation* and desire to avenge the humiliation and to recover what they have lost) it would not be listened to unless they chose it, and would only confirm the bad feeling in Germany which is barely subsiding towards us.

A powerful Germany can never be dangerous to England but the very reverse and our great object should therefore be to have her friendly and cordial towards us. Germany ever since '48 has believed us unfavourable to her consolidation and unity which was greatly strengthened by Lord Palmerston's strong anti-German feeling, exhibited in the Schleswig-Holstein question,

¹ French economist and negotiator of the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1860.

and on many other occasions—while he advocated the Italian Unity which was no political object *for us* and for which the Italians were far less fit than the Germans. This grieved and distressed the dear Prince¹ most deeply. France was flattered and the Emperor really petted, we were made to help him out of every scrape, while our natural allies and kindred people were *left* to think that we despised them and did not wish for their development.

This belief unfortunately and strange to say, the *press* encouraged and confirmed, it is for this reason and for the *great* danger of victorious and powerful Germany becoming altogether entirely *estranged towards us* at this moment when she has made such herculean sacrifices, that the Queen is so very anxious that England should do nothing to make her think we wish her not to reap the benefits of her hard-won victories and that we wish to help the aggressor and cause of all this bloodshed in *getting* as good terms as possible for France. This would *never* be forgotten. Germany resents our Neutrality and therefore (as the Princess Royal wrote) would never hear of our interfering with the terms of Peace. What Germany and Europe absolutely require just as they did in 1815 is that France should remain quiet, consolidate her own powers at home by commerce and industry but not by constant threats and aggressions on her neighbours and the world in general. This really is what Germany wants and we & Europe want.

There is nothing the Queen would not wish to do to stay this fearful strife but she must look forward and warn most solemnly and positively against the danger of alienating Germany from us.

278

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Sept. 11. 1870.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 8th & with the Enclosures w^h she returns.—She thinks Mr. Gladstone's letter most prudent & yet civil & kind for he has managed to *say nothing* & yet to be very full of sympathy.

The Queen is having a most interesting acc^t from the King² to Queen Aug^a (sent by the latter) of his Interview with the Emperor—translated will let Mr. Gladstone see it.

How dreadful this loss of the Captain³ is!

The Queen *hopes* there is a better chance of peace!

¹ The Prince Consort.

² Of Prussia.

³ Queen Augusta of Prussia.

⁴ H.M.S. *Captain* foundered off Cape Finisterre on September 12, 1870.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Oct. 2. 1870.

The Queen wishes to express to Mr. Gladstone her sincere satisfaction at the decision of the Cabinet to continue in the wise course hitherto pursued. She refers Mr. Gladstone to a letter she yesterday wrote to Lord Granville on the subject. She feels so very strongly upon it.

What a dreadful exhibition of falsehood & boastfulness the French continue to make ! It shows a corruption which is the cause of the Country's downfall—and one of the most disgraceful exhibitions is the way in which all turn against the Emperor & Empress & all about them ! The conduct & language of the Prisoners in this respect is quite *disgraceful* & disgusting. The C. Pöcs is loud in his condemnation of it.—

The Queen thinks that in the present temper of France it would be most unwise to let any Fenian Prisoners out.

280 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 73-5.)

HAWARDEN. Oct. 5. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly acknowledges Your Majesty's gracious letter of the 2nd.

As far as he can judge, the Cabinet is fully determined to shun all sole action on the part of this country with reference to the War now raging, and not to encourage any act of partisanship, or any attempt at mediation under present circumstances except with the assent of both parties.

There is, however, another point on which the Cabinet has decided at present to maintain reserve, but with regard to which Mr. Gladstone individually thinks it desirable that the Neutral Powers should have and even should express an opinion. It is the question whether, in considering of the transfer of any large district of territory from one country to another, some regard should not be had to the feelings of the inhabitants if they entertain decided feelings on the subject.

How the fact may stand with respect to Alsace and Lorraine, Mr. Gladstone will not presume to say : but in the circulars of Count Bismarck the question of the transfer is treated without

The Crown Prince of Prussia.

any reference whatever to the attachments of the people, and unless M. Jules Favre¹ has grossly misrepresented the Chancellor, he totally and deliberately sets them aside, and is prepared to trample on them if need be.

With regard to this principle of action, Mr. Gladstone conceives that three things are pretty clear. First, that the neglect to take into account, or the difficulty of taking into account, feelings and attachments in former distributions of territory has caused much disturbance and much bloodshed in subsequent times to Europe. Secondly, that the opposite rule of action is favourable to future peace. Thirdly, that it has obtained much countenance in recent European practice. And he will add a fourth, namely, that as a matter of this kind cannot be regarded as in principle a question between two Belligerents only, but that it involves considerations of legitimate interest to all the Powers of Europe. It appears to Mr. Gladstone to bear on the Belgian question in particular. He does not believe that any principle or power, except the desire of the Belgian people to maintain their own nationality, will for any length of time suffice to preserve it. It is also a principle likely to be of great consequence in the eventual settlement of the Eastern question. Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that, quite apart from the subject of mediation, it cannot be right that the Neutral Powers should remain silent, while this principle is trampled down, should the actual sentiment of Alsace and Lorraine be such as to render this language applicable, of which he cannot judge at present. The mode of expressing any view of this matter is doubtless a question requiring much consideration: but the decision of the Cabinet was that the time for it had not yet come. Any declaration in the sense described would, Mr. Gladstone thinks, have entailed, in fairness, an obligation to repudiate the present claim of France to obtain peace without surrendering "either an inch of her territory, or a stone of her fortresses."²

The matter stands over, at any rate, for the present: freedom has, however, been expressly reserved by Lord Granville to comment hereafter on the Circular of Count Bismarck if he should see cause. Doubtless the great difficulty of declaring an opinion is to do it without seeming to depart from impartiality as between the two Powers at War.

¹ Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Government of National Defence.

² The formula of Jules Favre.

281

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Oct. 10. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter of the 5th.

She thinks the Govt. have done v^y wisely to pause & see what course they may hereafter take—provided always that that course doesn't involve us in *unnecessary* hostilities & does not produce bitter resentment & estrangement on the part of powerful united Germany towards this Country.

France exhibits a most lamentable state of demoralization & the Queen thinks every one must say what a *corrupt* Govt the Empire has been; tho' she herself fears that we can never expect an honest, principled Govt or any stability in that Country & with that nation w^h, with but few exceptions seems to be entirely devoid of *truth*, & to live upon vanity, deception, amusement & self-glorification.

282

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Oct. 10. 1870.

The Queen is anxious herself to announce to Mr. Gladstone that P^{cess} Louise is engaged to the Marquis of Lorne. It is entirely her own, free act—& from the v^y high character w^h he possesses—his superiority in almost every sense over the young man of the present day—his g^t devotion to her—& the excellence of his Parents¹—the Queen can only rejoice at it.—To her it is however a *new* pang, for to lose another daughter in her sad & forlorn home—is a terrible trial. . . .

283 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Oct. 12. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone very humbly thanks Your Majesty for having graciously communicated to him the intelligence that Princess Louise is engaged, with Your Majesty's sanction, to marry Lord Lorne.

Mr. Gladstone feels the public interest and importance attaching to this event: but in addition to this it is impossible for anyone who has had the privilege of acquaintance with the Princess to do otherwise than feel the liveliest concern in all that touches her

¹ The Duke and Duchess of Argyll.

welfare ; or to doubt that the person who obtains her in marriage will be a happy man.

Your Majesty's general views on this subject having been made known to Mr. Gladstone now some time ago, he is well pleased to think that they could hardly have been acted on in a manner more full of promise and cause for satisfaction.

You must doubtless feel deeply whatever entails even partial separation from such a Daughter, but Your Majesty's parental affection will also be alive to all the comfort which the occasion brings. . . .

Mr. Gladstone will only say in conclusion that he is entirely convinced of the wisdom with which Your Majesty has acted in permitting a deviation from recent custom. He believes that Your Majesty has consulted well both the public and the personal interests involved. And he trusts that the blessing of the Almighty may attend this auspicious union.

284 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Oct. 12. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone . . . transmits for Your Majesty's gracious consideration a letter which he has just received from the Lord Mayor of London, in which the Lord Mayor inquires whether Your Majesty would be pleased to unveil the memorial window in the Guildhall to the Prince Consort.

Mr. Gladstone has not held out any expectations to the Lord Mayor ; but he thinks and hopes that viewing the nature and place of the memorial Your Majesty might, perhaps, subject to considerations of health and with reserve accordingly, be disposed to entertain the proposal. . . .

285 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. Oct. 14. 1870.

The Queen is sorry that she *cannot* comply with the L^d Mayor's request.

In the 1st place she *was* in the City last Nov :—& she does not think the unveiling of a mere *Memorial Window* of sufficient importance to call for *her* going there again.—

Besides this the Queen's nerves have been *so much* shaken by the war, & all these family events—& her sleep so impaired

that she is utterly unfit for any exertion of this kind and must try to keep herself up for all that this marriage of *Pcess* Louise will entail, & from w^h she rather shrinks; the feelings about it are very mixed.

The Queen *hopes* to be able to open Parl^t (without reading the Speech) but she w^{ld} not wish any premature announcement *for fear* of disappointment; then will follow the marriage—& later in the Spring there will be the Opening of the Albert Hall.

All this will be a gt excitement, agitation & fatigue & this dreadful war & all its necessary consequences are quite enough of themselves to upset the Queen.—

She therefore *cannot* undertake anything of this nature in Nov: even if she thought it wise to do so again *this* year, w^h she does not.

Prince Arthur might do it.

He has not appeared in public since his return.

286

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Oct. 21. 1870.

In returning this paper to Mr. Gladstone the Queen wishes to recommend an able & deserving Author to Mr. Gladstone—whose name has already been brought before Mr. Gladstone.

It is that of *Mr. Friswell* Author of a vy useful & able book called "the gentle Life" w^h has gone thro' *many* editions—and the last has been dedicated to the Queen.

He is in wretched health & a small pension w^{ld} be a great boon & well bestowed. Many people can corroborate these facts.

287 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Nov. 3. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to apprise Your Majesty that on inquiry it appears that Lord Derby when Minister advised a grant of Royal Bounty to Mr. Friswell, but not a Civil List Pension, which Mr. Gladstone takes to be an indication that his literary standard was not deemed to be sufficiently high. Mr. Gladstone has proceeded on this ground in deciding not to advise a Pension to Mr. Tupper,¹ an author who has enjoyed a very great popularity with an unblemished reputation. He proposes, if it meets Your Majesty's approval, again to direct a grant to

¹ Martin Tupper, author of *Proverbial Philosophy*.

Mr. Friswell from Royal Bounty, and to save Your Majesty trouble, he incloses a Memorandum for the purpose.

288

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Nov. 7. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for several letters.

She fears there is no hope of an Armistice—for the French seem *quite* mad !!

She is glad that poor Mr. Friswell is to get £100—His writings are of a higher order than Mr. M. Tupper. . . .

The prolongation of this dreadful war & the anxiety to loss of life w^h the bombardment will cause, is a g^t sorrow to the Queen. The anxieties & excitement of the last 3 months & $\frac{1}{2}$ including those of a domestic character & the g^t amount of *work* have shaken the Queen's nerves *vy sensibly* & much affected her sleep at night. But the air here, & the quiet & liberty have been & are obliging—without w^h she thinks she w^{ld} have *really* been *quite ill*. . . .

289

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 83-4.)

BALMORAL. November 14. 1870.

I have received the Queen's commands to thank you for your letter and at the same time to convey to you Her Majesty's entire approval of the course taken by the Cabinet with reference to this sudden renunciation of its obligations by the Russian Government.¹

With respect to the convicted leaders and organizers of the Fenian movement who were so deeply responsible for the attempted revolution in 1867, The Queen cannot avoid remarking that no expression of regret or contrition has been heard, but that on the contrary the prisoners have maintained a defiant demeanour and will probably exult in their release as a triumph for their party.

Her Majesty hopes that in making the arrangements for their expatriation some guarantee for their good behaviour abroad will be exacted, otherwise the presence in America of these

¹ Under the Treaty of 1856.

reckless men at the present moment might lead to disastrous consequences.

Her Majesty understands that as it is intended to release only those whose crimes were purely political, the soldiers convicted of Fenianism will not be included in the pardon.

290 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Nov. 16. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone . . . humbly states that it is not proposed to include in the release those who took part in the Manchester outrage, or those who offended as soldiers, or in the attempt to seduce soldiers from their duty.

There are not many of the prisoners of whom it can be hoped that the remission of the remainder of their punishment will radically change their sentiments, but what is believed would rather be that their power to do mischief, and the aggregate power of Fenian organisation, will be materially diminished by the release, as it appears from the best authority to have been already lessened by the effect of recent policy. Mr. Gladstone believes that the Government of the United States take a similar view, and desire the release accordingly.

291 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 86.)

HAWARDEN. 23 Nov. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly informs Your Majesty that he has been empowered by Mr. Bright to lay his resignation¹ at Your Majesty's feet. But, as Mr. Bright approves of the answer returned by Lord Granville to Prince Gortchakoff,² and as his actual resignation at this moment would be construed to mean that he condemned it, and would present an appearance of divided counsels alike untrue and mischievous, Mr. Gladstone has obtained power from Mr. Bright to postpone the actual submission of this resignation until some moment when it can be carried into effect without such grave public inconvenience. Mr. Gladstone will of course watch for such

¹ As President of the Board of Trade.

² As to the limitations on Russian sovereignty in the Black Sea imposed by the Treaty of 1856 and repudiated in 1870.

a moment ; in the meantime he has to convey to Your Majesty, by Mr. Bright's desire, the expression of his gratitude for the confidence and condescension which Your Majesty has been pleased to show him.

In ceasing to be a Minister of the Crown, he will not the less desire the prosperity and happiness of Your Majesty's reign.

For the present this matter is strictly private : but Mr. Gladstone has thought Your Majesty would desire to be informed of it.

The resignation when it actually takes effect, will, Mr. Gladstone is sure, be deeply regretted by the whole of Your Majesty's advisers.

Mr. Bright however, in founding the step on the state of his health, speaks very hopefully of his expected progress when relieved from the responsibility of office.

292 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Nov. 27. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his 2 letters.—

She is very sorry to hear of the necessity for Mr. Bright to resign and will ever look back with pleasure to the occasions w^h she had of making his personal acquaintance.

She trusts however that she may still be able to see him when his health becomes stronger.

The Queen quite concurs in the wisdom of not letting his resignation be known at present. . . .

293 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 28 Nov. 1870.

. . . Mr. Gladstone intends to have the honour of waiting on Your Majesty to-morrow ; and he will not fail to obey Your Majesty's gracious command that he should remain for the evening.

294 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 2. 1870.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Cardwell's¹ report—w^h she thinks vy satisfactory but trusts that no *peaceful prospects* will alter them. . . .

¹ Secretary of State for War.

The Queen wishes to repeat in writing her *gt anxiety* that the state of *railway-travelling* sh^{ld} be *most seriously considered* by & brought before the Cabinet.—The Gov^t are constantly proposing improvements of every kind & sort to improve the condition of the Country—Telegraphs—postage, &c.—*all* have been duly considered & new arrangements made—but the *one* w^h in fact is the most important of all—as it *affects the security of life* of the whole Community, seems to be *left* pretty much to private management. And the Queen has *for years* been in *perfect terror* for the safety of her Children, her friends & even more for her servants, for of course they are far more exposed—from travelling oftener backwards & forwards, from their not having often the safest places, & from those travelling so often for her service. Most *earnestly* does she *press* on Mr. Gladstone & the Cabinet this *vy serious* & all *important subject*.

295 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN, 3 Dec. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and with reference to Your Majesty's observations on Wednesday respecting the lamentable accident on the North-Western Line at Harrow, he finds that the Board of Trade at once engaged in enquiries respecting the cause and circumstances of the accident, and will carefully consider of any means of prevention.

Meantime Mr. Gladstone has procured for Your Majesty the enclosed Schedule. From it Your Majesty will perceive with satisfaction that the number of passengers on Railways, who have lost their lives from causes beyond their own control, has progressively diminished (in round numbers) from one in five millions to one in thirteen millions.

If we strike out the very peculiar case (from the Abergele accident) of the year 1868, the proportion for the latest period will then be one in eighteen millions.

296 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN, 4 Dec. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone . . . hopes Your Majesty will perceive from his letter of yesterday that he had at once set about procuring information on the important subject of Railway accidents.

He will take care in conformity with Your Majesty's wish to make known your anxiety respecting it to his Colleagues.

He trusts Your Majesty's mind may be in some degree relieved by the statement he had the honour to send yesterday, although besides those killed there are others who suffer from accidents more or less severe. It is however singular to consider that many times the persons killed by these accidents are killed every year by horse vehicles in the streets of London. About 200 is the number of annual victims.—The number in Paris is about 80.

297

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 7. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone vy much for his satisfactory return of the Railway Accidents. Still in spite of this—she hopes & trusts that the subject will be *vy fully* considered & means taken to prevent such vy gt speed of travelling—& also to enable them to stop more *easily* & to give more quickly notice of danger.

Can Mr. Gladstone tell the Queen in w^h report of *debates* in Parl^t she c^{ld} find the *best definition* & explanation of the compact between the Sovereign & Parl^t on the occasion of the former giving up at his or her accession, the *Hereditary Revenues*? She tried in vain to convince a friend who was not well versed in such affairs that it was in return for *this*,—that the Country gave the Civil List, & the Queen w^{ld} like to be able to show an explanation by some one of the Ministers of how the matter stood.

There was one on her accession, but she thinks Mr. Gladstone himself & also Sir Cornwall Lewis¹ gave one much later than 37. . . .

298

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 14, 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Letter & Enclosure.

She feels still as anxious as ever about the Railways. 2 more bad accidents have occurred since she wrote to Mr. Gladstone.

Could not some means be devised to *prevent* the g^t injuries inflicted *when* the accidents occur? Could *not* more people be employed to prevent overworking of the men—& thereby preventing the liability to accidents from this cause, w^h naturally leads to carelessness & recklessness?

¹ Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1855–8.

299 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 94-5).

10, DOWNING STREET. Dec. 15. 1870.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the Cabinet this day considered the reply proper to be made at once to the Circular letter of Count Bismarck dated on the 3rd current. The circular produces on the Cabinet a most painful impression, and is calculated to inspire grave apprehensions for the future of Europe, if the power which Germany has acquired is to be employed in the spirit which governed some years back its proceedings in Denmark¹; and of which this Circular carries some indications. But the Cabinet were clearly of opinion that the present duty is, without committing themselves, or restraining their future freedom, to treat the subject in a manner as little controversial as possible, and to make it easy for the North German Government to reply in such a manner as will contribute to reassure the public mind. The draft of Lord Granville was drawn, and was also considered and amended, in this spirit. . . .

300 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 18. 1870.

. . . The Queen entirely approves the decisions of the Cabinet with respect to Foreign Affairs & rejoices to hear that due attention is being paid to this very serious question of railway travelling.

301 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Dec. 24. 1870.

. . . Should the Queen write a few lines to Mr. Bright expressing regret at his retirement?

She concludes by wishing Mr. & Mrs. Gladstone many happy returns of the Season.

302 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Dec. 29. 1870.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for the letter rec^d today.

She has written to Mr. Bright a few lines wh^h she encloses as she does not know *where* he is.

¹ The annexation of Schleswig-Holstein.

If Parl^t opens on the 9 Feb : she *hopes to be able* to go in person—tho' she *cannot read* the speech. Were she to attempt it, she knows she w^{ld} break down—w^h w^{ld} be vy painful. If the Opening were on the 7th it w^{ld} be vy inconvenient to the Queen.

She is vy sorry to hear of the continued illness of Mr. Gladstone's Son.—She trusts he will soon be better.

P.S. 30th. The Queen adds a few lines to repeat her *most* strong feelings on these repeated & frightful railway accidents w^h alarm everyone. *Something* must be done. . . .

303 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Jan. 3. [1871].

. . . Your Majesty's gracious intention to open Parliament, should circumstances permit, has been carefully kept secret ; but Mr. Gladstone need not say how much he rejoices in every act which, without prejudice to Your Majesty's health, tends to make the monarchy of this country, in Your Majesty's person, visible and palpable to the people.

Mr. Gladstone quite sees it to be proper that the speech should be read by the Lord Chancellor. . . .

304 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Jan. 6. 1871.

. . . The Queen hopes Mr. Gladstone's son continues to improve.

Mr. Bruce¹ considers it a good thing that Jules Favre² c^{ld} not come over, as there might be a public demonstration in his favour—w^h w^{ld} do gt harm.

305 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Jan. 6. 1871.

The Queen *hopes* to be able to open Parl^t (*not* reading the Speech) but she w^{ld} rather it were *not yet* announced.

She will have much fatigue & anxiety this year. There is P^{cess} Louise's marriage w^h will be a terrible trial & in many ways, a gt loss of support & comfort to her.—& she has also promised (health permitting) to open the Albert Hall at the end of March. . . .

¹ Home Secretary.

² Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Government of National Defence.

The Queen, in consequence of opening Parl^t, of the ~~Poess~~'s marriage & opening the Albert Hall does not wish to undertake any thing more of this kind this year—unless it be the Inauguration of the Prince's Memorial in Edinburgh.—But nothing has been said about that—for we do not know if it will be ready this year.—She rejoices to hear that measures are to be taken to try prevent these frightful railway accidents.

306 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 7 Jan. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . has taken every pains to keep secret Your Majesty's gracious intention to open Parliament : but he has too frequent experience of the failure of his best efforts in matters of this kind. This day he has read with vexation a published anticipation of several appointments which he has now humbly to recommend to Your Majesty and which he has mentioned to no one except in secrecy.

Mr. Gladstone will bear in mind the signification of Your Majesty's wish in regard to public ceremonials during the coming year. . . .

307 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 9 Jan. 1871.

. . . It is very possible that M. Jules Favre's coming might lead to some expression of the growing sympathy with France. But it is, as Mr. Gladstone thinks, in any case to be expected that that sympathy will find a vent within the walls of Parliament, at and after the commencement of the Session.

308 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 20 Jan. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the Cabinet met to-day principally for the purpose of receiving [statements] from Mr. Cardwell upon important questions connected with the organization of the Army. The first of these was the system of purchase, which was discussed at some length with reference principally to the questions of retirement, promotion, admission, and the regimental system. . . .

The Cabinet concurred very generally in the views of Mr. Secretary Cardwell and he will submit to Your Majesty's pleasure the main proposals he desires to make for the security of the Country and the advantage of the Army.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the indefatigable and assiduous attentions of Mr. Cardwell to these difficult subjects, of which he has acquired so great a mastery.

Mr. Gladstone trusts and believes that Your Majesty will regard with favour the general scope of his proposals.

Mr. Cardwell will also submit to Your Majesty his views on two points connected with the position of H.R.H. the Commander of the Forces¹; on this matter he and Mr. Gladstone thought that an explanation and submission to Your Majesty's pleasure ought to precede any communication to the Cabinet. . . .

309 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 25 Jan. 1871.

. . . Lord Granville read a letter from Lord Russell urging that the Cabinet should apply to the North German Authorities for favourable treatment of the Garrison of Paris in the event of Capitulation. The Cabinet felt much doubt whether it was expedient for this Government thus to interpose with respect to a purely military measure, on which we have no right to form presumptions that such interposition can be necessary; especially the argument for abstaining appears to be strong at the time when the strange rumours of the last 24 hours respecting negotiations between the North German authorities and the ex-Empress² have gone forth with some appearance of credibility.

The Cabinet considered the telegrams which have just been passing between this country and America with reference to the points in difference between the two countries. The Cabinet think well of the idea of a Commission to consider the possible mode of dealing with them: but do not think it would be right to give up the question of international law involved in the Alabama case.³ They see no difficulty in the expression of regret which the Americans appear to desire.

¹ The Duke of Cambridge.

² The Empress Eugénie.

³ The U.S. claims related to damage alleged to have been suffered from the operations of the Confederate warship *Alabama* in the Civil War.

310 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. Jan. 27. 1871.

On account of the death of a relative, his only remaining aunt in Scotland, Mr. Gladstone humbly prays to be excused from waiting with his wife and daughter on Your Majesty to-morrow.

311 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 27 Jan. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . presumes to trouble Your Majesty with a few words on two matters, which he had intended to mention to Your Majesty at Osborne.

First he wished to assure Your Majesty that he is endeavouring to ascertain whether the late premature announcement of certain of the recent political appointments was due to ingenious conjecture or to imprudent and unauthorised disclosure ; and if the latter on whose part such disclosure took place. . . .

312 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 28 Jan. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the Cabinet at its meeting to-day considered certain matters connected with measures which they propose to introduce into Parliament.

With respect to Foreign affairs, Turkey having declined to adopt the special restraint proposed to be laid upon the Littoral Powers with reference to the use of the Bosphorus by vessels of war, to which Russia has agreed or submitted, it was felt that if Turkey should persist, it would not be advisable to proceed to extremes in pressing it.

With respect to the telegram last received from America the Cabinet considered it impossible for this Government to be parties to any foregone conclusion in respect to a money payment on account of the Alabama.

The Cabinet decided to instruct General Walker and Captain Hozier as well as Mr. Odo Russell, not to take part in any triumphal or public procession or celebration on the capitulation and surrender of Paris. This is conformable to the general spirit of the instructions of the Foreign Office in cases of Te Deums and the like. . . .

313 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 28 Jan. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty transmits copy of a Tract which he thinks Your Majesty may find worth perusal. It is written on the whole with a rare impartiality, and the author is a Frenchman (distinguished among the Protestants of France) who after the announcement of the Duc de Grammont¹ at the beginning of July and before disaster began published a pamphlet in which he denounced the war outright not on account of defective preparation or probable ill success but on grounds of justice.

314 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. Feb. 1. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet met to-day to consider various questions arising in the Foreign Department.

A Telegram was sent to Versailles and Paris with reference to the re-victualling of the French capital. It signified that, on the joint request of the French and North German Governments, the stores and officers of the British Victualling Departments would be made available for the necessary supplies, as far as they could yield them, in order to save time.

A Telegram has been received from America by which it appears that the Government of the United States are now willing to concur in the appointment of a Commission for the discussion of international questions at present depending, without asking for a previous understanding that liability in respect of the Alabama is to be acknowledged by this country in the course of the discussion. Under these circumstances the Cabinet think that we may close with the United States Government and proceed to consider of the composition of the Commission, and of the proper instructions to be given to it. The Cabinet have thought of various names : and Lord Granville is to see Lord Derby, and possibly to communicate with Sir G. Grey, in the hope of their being willing to serve.

In the present position of the discussions before the Conference, the Cabinet consider that it will be well to accept the Turkish proposal as to the opening of the Straits,² which draws no

¹ Minister for Foreign Affairs under Napoleon III.² The Dardanelles.

distinction unfavourable to Russia, but restores to the Sultan the power of opening the Straits to the Fleets of the *Puissances Amies ou Alliées* in cases of emergency.

315 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 1. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and entirely shares Your Majesty's sentiments of regret and disapproval with reference to the objections taken in some quarters to the moderate proposal about to be made to Parliament for a Dowry to Princess Louise. These objections, Mr. Gladstone thinks, may really be referable in a greater or less degree to causes quite independent of that proposal and its merits. At the present time, he will only venture to submit one or two observations, being sensible that portions of what Your Majesty may have remarked or learned may have escaped his own notice. These objections, as far as he knows, have been taken in few places, and for the most part by persons possessed neither of influence, nor of information. He has heard of two members of Parliament as joining in them; one of them, though well meaning, is weak; and the other is perhaps the most fractious spirit in the House of Commons. . . .

In any case, when the time arrives, Your Majesty will have no cause to complain of any want of explicitness or decision in the language which will be held by the Government in putting aside, and endeavouring to discredit what Your Majesty most justly describes as a vulgar error: an error venial in ignorant persons, but discreditable enough in those who mislead them. . . .

316 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. Feb. 9. 1871.

The Queen hopes the Chancellor *quite understands* that *he* is to read the Speech—as the stupid *Times* thinks fit to announce she is to do it.

317 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 10 Feb. 1871.

. . . He hopes Your Majesty was not overtired after the ceremonial of yesterday: though the unusually long interval of the absence of the Black rod must have been wearisome.

318 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 13. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and repeats the substance of the telegram which he has sent this evening concerning the proposal of Your Majesty's Government on the approaching marriage of Princess Louise. To his agreeable but extreme surprise, no one said a word when Mr. Gladstone sat down after rather a lengthened Statement, and the vote was passed without a single voice in the negative amidst loud cheers. Mr. Gladstone may appear to Your Majesty under these circumstances, to have made too much of this matter ; but he could not venture to reckon on such an occurrence as that Members of Parliament, who have within the last few weeks committed themselves publicly to a certain course, should then one and all shrink from fulfilling their inconsiderate engagement. . . .

Mr. Disraeli's silence on the vote respecting Princess Louise was without doubt due to the fear of raising a debate ; and Mr. Gladstone does not doubt that Mr. Disraeli exercised a wise discretion, as any further speech would have allowed time for Members to change their minds.

There are some rumours that opposition to the proposal respecting Princess Louise is thought of at a future stage ; but if this is offered, it will be offered under great discouragement and a great disadvantage.

319 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 14. 1871.

I thank you much for your telegram yesterday which was very satisfactory think your speech quite excellent it should be printed by itself as a valuable record of the subject.

320 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 14. 1871.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter & repeats her admiration of his very clear & able Speech.

The Poess was much gratified by it.

The Queen regrets that the unanimity exhibited yesterday

sh^{ld} in any way be marred by the powerless opposition of a few Men in future stage of the Bill.—

But they can do no *real* mischief.

321 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 14 Feb. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and is very grateful to Your Majesty for the telegram sent to him this morning. He learns that those who were to have opposed think they can do it with greater advantage on a stage of the Bill which follows the Resolution. To him it appears that their position, which at first would have been simply mischievous, will have become ridiculous. . . .

322 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 14. 1871.

The Army Bill has *not* been sent to the Queen & she must see it in time to be able to give her opinion on it.

The Queen must repeat to Mr. Gladstone her earnest wish & hope that he *will* uphold duly the position of the Commander in Chief as agreed on between herself the Duke of Cambridge & Mr. Cardwell in the last letter w^h passed between them. The Queen w^{ld} wish to refer Mr. Gladstone to her 2 last letters to Mr. Cardwell from Osborne.

She cannot but feel that the Duke of Cambridge has been most ungratefully & unjustly treated by a large portion of the Public who are totally ignorant of Military Matters ; but she knows that in the Army g^t confidence is felt in his g^t impartiality & knowledge of Military Affairs as well as of Men.

The Queen trusts to Mr. Gladstone likewise impressing Mr. Cardwell with the importance of what she has written to him.

323 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, Feb. 15. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and reports that he wrote from Windsor after seeing Your Majesty to Mr. Cardwell about the Army Bill, and made known Your Majesty's

desire. But Your Majesty will doubtless recollect that the drafting of such a Bill involves great labour and difficulty, and it is very frequently found impossible to complete a work of this kind until the latest moment, and long after all the most substantial parts of a plan have been agreed on. He will not, however, lose a moment in writing again to Mr. Cardwell on the subject.

With regard to the Commander in Chief, Mr. Gladstone, while writing in some haste, is able to inform Your Majesty that Mr. Cardwell has been engaged in considering, during the last two days, in concert with His Royal Highness what should be the exact words in which the views and intentions of the Government might properly be conveyed. There appears to be a substantial concord on this subject, as far as Mr. Gladstone can judge, between them, and the topic will be brought before the Cabinet this afternoon. Mr. Gladstone hopes Your Majesty will appreciate Mr. Cardwell's desire to avoid all misunderstanding, and will find no reason to be dissatisfied with the desire of the Government to treat the office of the Commander in Chief in a manner suited to its dignity and importance. Mr. Gladstone has not yet seen the Army Bill in its final form.

324 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 21 Feb. 1871.

. . . Mr. Trevelyan moved a resolution on the subject of the tenure of the Commander in Chief's office, and a second on certain heads of army expenditure. His speech was characterised by much ability and he in general avoided that strain of remark by which he has heretofore given offence. His first resolution contained no language open to objection, but it was opposed by the Government because it appeared to imply that the thing it described as desirable was not about to be effected by the plans of Mr. Cardwell as they were approved by Your Majesty. On a division the resolution was negatived by a majority of 201 to 83; and the second resolution was not put. The debate in general did not offer much matter of special interest. There were criticisms here and there on His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, but no angry or hostile feeling appeared to prevail and even these criticisms were limited to a few speakers.

325 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. Feb. 23. 1871.

. . . She thinks that Mr. Trevelyan's shameful attack on the Duke of Cambridge has had the effect of strengthening the Duke's position.

326 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram] . WINDSOR CASTLE. 25 Feb. 1871.

Highly approve your speech¹ which must have a good effect for the future.

327 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 120-1.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 25 Feb. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to submit to Your Majesty that yesterday afternoon he learned from Lord Granville that the Government of France had appealed to Your Majesty's Government to remonstrate against the amount of War indemnity demanded by Germany from France, which, said the Duc de Broglie, was one absolutely beyond their power to pay. The sum named was 240 millions sterling, to be liquidated within a short time, and subject to deductions, such as not greatly to affect the question.

The Cabinet was summoned at once: and Your Majesty's Ministers found themselves under the necessity, in point of time, either of accepting or declining at once that appeal.

They could not dissent from the opinion of the French Government that no such engagement could be contracted with an intelligent and honourable intention to fulfil it. They concluded accordingly that they could not decline the appeal; and their views were set forth in a draft at once proposed for communication to the two Governments.

Mr. Gladstone was obliged to leave the Cabinet before the necessary particulars of verification had been received from the Duc de Broglie, in order to meet a discussion in the House of Commons: and on this account he was unable to report to Your

¹ As to alleged communications between members of the Royal Family and German Headquarters.

Majesty until after having seen Earl Granville to-day. Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive Your Majesty's gratifying telegram of to-day.

328

*Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*CLAREMONT. *March 6. 1871.*

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter rec^d last night—informing her of Mr. Childers' ¹ resignation for w^h she was fully prepared but sincerely regrets. She will write to him.—

The Queen approves Mr. Goschen's appt as his Successor tho' he must be quite *new* to all this business, & cannot know much of Naval Affairs ; but he is a most able man.—

She further approves of Mr. Stanfield's ² appt to the Poor Law Board, with a seat in the Cabinet. . . .

329 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *16 March, 1871.*

. . . Having learned from the Princess Louise that Your Majesty has a wish to see some drawings by Mr. Warwick Brooks which might be for sale, Mr. Gladstone has obtained several accordingly and takes the liberty of forwarding them.

330

*Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*WINDSOR CASTLE. *March 18. 1871.*

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for many reports & letters—& for so kindly troubling himself about Mr. W. Brooks' drawings w^h really are charming. She has taken four ; two for £6.6s. each & two for £5.5s.-each & has desired the others to be returned to Mr. Gladstone's House.

She was vy glad to see Mr. Cardwell's letter.

The Queen fears she cannot see Mr. Gladstone during his stay at the Deanery ³ this time, as she is quite overwhelmed with the preparations for the wedding, & is much agitated & upset at the approaching separation from her dear Child.

¹ First Lord of the Admiralty.

² Mr. James Stansfeld.

³ With Dean Wellesley at Windsor.

331 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DEANERY, WINDSOR. 19 March, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . cannot be surprised that Your Majesty should deeply feel the approaching separation. . . .

Mr. Gladstone is delighted to think of the pleasure which Your Majesty's unsolicited patronage and words of praise will convey to Mr. Warwick Brooks, for he believes Mr. Brooks to be a person of remarkably fine and upright, as well as original, character. . . .

332 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. March 19. 1871.

The Queen returns the Mem paper—& is sorry for her mistake but she is really rather bewildered & over-worked just now. What a dreadful state Paris is in ! ¹ The second telegram reached the Queen.

She cannot help feeling anxious for Lord Lyons ² & the Embassy.

333 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. March 24. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that on returning to London this day he answered the question of Mr. Bentinck respecting the republican resolution of Mr. Odger in the manner which Your Majesty was pleased to approve. The House of Commons appeared to be well satisfied with the reply. . . .

334 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. March 25. 1871.

The Queen omitted yesterday when she spoke to Mr. Gladstone on the Army Debate to say that she wished to express her full concurrence in the sentiment he expressed, that to avoid mis-statements w^h had again occurred it was " necessary that perfect " harmony sh^{ld} exist on all military measures between the War " Office and Horse Guards."—

The only way to secure such harmony is by freely consulting the Duke of Cambridge on all Military matters, & Mr. Gladstone sh^{ld} never cease impressing this on Mr. Cardwell.

¹ The Paris Commune had seized power.² Ambassador in Paris.

335 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. April 6. 1871.

The Queen is glad to think that Mr. Gladstone is gone down into the Country & hopes he will derive benefit from it. . . .

336 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Good Friday. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly expresses his acknowledgment for Your Majesty's kind reference to his Easter holiday. . . .

337 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Apl. 14. 1871.

. . . He noticed with deep concern the affliction which has been sustained by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and by Your Majesty in the death of the Infant Prince : but he has been glad to observe the favourable account of the recovery of Her Royal Highness. . . .

338 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Ap. 17. 1871.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter rec^d yesterday.

The P^{ce} & P^{cess} of Wales have been deeply grieved by the death of their poor little child—The P^{cess} is progressing favourably but will require a great deal of rest & care for some time. . . .

339 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 17 April. 1871.

. . . Mr. Gladstone is glad to observe that the meeting in Hyde Park yesterday passed off without any disturbing or threatening circumstance : though he is painfully struck by indications in different portions of the country which have commonly had immediate reference to the marriage of Princess Louise, which he must regard as rather the accidental occasion than the substantial cause to which they are due.

340 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 131.)OSBORNE. *Ap.* 23. 1871.

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for several letters.

She trusts that the American question will ere long be settled satisfactorily.

With regard to the Budget, it is difficult not to feel considerable doubt as to the wisdom of the proposed tax on Matches, wh^h is a direct tax & will be at once felt by all classes, to whom matches have become a necessity of life. This greatly increased price will in all probability make no difference in the consumption by the *rich*, but the *poorer classes* will be *constantly* irritated by this increased expense and reminded of the tax by the Government stamp on the box.

Above all it seems *certain* that the tax will seriously affect the manufacture & sale of matches wh^h is said to be the *sole* means of support of a vast number of the very poorest people & *little* children, especially in London, so that this tax wh^h it is intended sh^d press on all equally, will in fact be only severely felt by the poor, wh^h w^{ld} be *vy wrong*—& most impolitic at the present moment.—

The Queen thinks that the Govt will reconsider this proposal, & try & substitute some other wh^h will not press upon the poor.—

The Queen is glad that the Govt are determined to act with energy on this *frightful* subject of Secret Conspiracies in Ireland.

341 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *April* 25. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty, reports to Your Majesty that the Cabinet decided to-day to desist from pressing the proposal of the duty on matches, and to proceed with the other financial proposals on Thursday. The proposal as to the Legacy and other duties on succession will however be much opposed. The Income Tax will have to bear the burden of what the Government may fail to realise from other sources.

342 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *May* 1-2, 1871.

. . . Of the five motions adverse to the Government which appeared on Friday, the first, which appeared to be presented on

behalf of the Conservative party, was proposed and debated through the evening.

Mr. Stansfeld spoke with a good deal of effect for the Government. Mr. Henley from the opposition benches condemned the military expenditure—Mr. Disraeli was particularly happy and effective in the tone of banter which he frequently employs. He announced the intention of a prolonged opposition to the Budget. The House divided about 1, when the numbers were :

For the motion of Mr. Smith . . .	250
Against it	335
Majority for the Government . .	85

343 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 4th May, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and although he does not usually report to Your Majesty on Wednesday Debates, he thinks it right to advert to the discussion of yesterday on the Bill for removing the electoral Disabilities of Women.

The Bill was rejected by a majority of 69 in a full House ; but it will certainly reappear. The debate was of much interest, and brought out references to many social considerations of deep moment. The division was not less curious.

The strongest speeches, for and against the measure, came from the Liberal side : and the division lists exhibit a distribution of the members of parties perfectly impartial, or nearly so, as between the two sides of the House of Commons. . . .

344 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. May 18. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty, submits to Your Majesty his opinion respecting one especially among the possible alternatives of a marriage for His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. Mr. Gladstone forbears, and indeed is wholly unable in this instance, to enter on that which Your Majesty would ever regard as the first among all essential conditions, namely that of personal character and qualities, and confines himself to what is external and collateral. In this view, he cannot doubt that there

are grave objections to a marriage between a Prince of Your Majesty's family and a member of the family of the dispossessed King of Hanover. The prejudice against selection from the narrow circle of the German Houses would be greatly quickened by considerations peculiar to the case. Though it be dangerous to generalise, yet it may almost be laid down as a rule that the marriage of a member of a great Royal House with a member of another family driven from a Throne can hardly be divested of a political significance, hostile to the actual possessors of the territory over which that Family had ruled. It bears in a certain degree the character either of an anticipation, or of a desire, of their restoration. And there can be little doubt that in the mind not only of the German Emperor ; but of his ministers and people, such a proceeding would be viewed with jealousy, and would not be construed in the most favourable sense. All this is independent of any actual consequences, which might follow from the injudicious conduct of the Princess after the marriage. Mr. Gladstone has no means of judging whether such conduct would be in the smallest degree likely : but in a country like this with so much liberty, and difference, of opinion, there would always be more or less of temptation to make a party in one sense or another.

Mr. Gladstone prays Your Majesty to excuse his having given his opinion at so much length.

345 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 134.)

June 7. 1871.

. . . The House of Commons has spent this evening in Committee on the Army Bill. The proceedings in opposition to the Bill, it would be idle to disguise, have been those of sheer obstruction ; the principle of the Bill has been debated and redebated on every amendment in Committee : and Mr. Gladstone who, during his whole parliamentary life, has been accustomed to see class interests of all kinds put themselves on their defence under the supposition of being assailed, has never, he regrets to state, seen a case where the modes of operation adopted by the professing Champions were calculated to leave such a painful impression on the mind. . . .

346

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. June 8. 1871.

The Queen was much grieved to hear of Mr. Gladstone's severe indisposition and hopes he will spare himself as much as he can.

She is sorry to see the pertinacious opposition to the Army Bill.

She trusts however that it will be overcome. . . .

347 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. 10 June. 1871.

. . . The Cabinet considered at much length the position in which they, and in which also the public interests have been placed by the unparalleled obstructions which a minority of the House of Commons have offered to the project of business in connection especially with the Army Bill. The Cabinet determined that it would be proper, in order to facilitate the passing of the Bill, and to avoid the great inconveniences which would attend upon its failure, that those portions of the Bill which are not connected with its essential purposes (and such portions are numerous) should be dropped.

The Government feel the responsibility they have incurred by their proposal to abolish the system of purchase and they do not see how compatibly with public duty they, continuing to be Your Majesty's advisers, could allow the question, now that it has reached its present stage, to stand over. Mr. Gladstone here describes the feeling of the Cabinet, rather than any positive conclusion. . . .

348

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 134.)

BALMORAL. June 12. 1871.

The Queen does not sufficiently understand the nature of the Alterations in the Army Bill, alluded to by you in your letter of the 10th, to enable her to form any opinion upon the subject, but will regret if you find it necessary to abandon any essential portion of so important a measure.

The Queen commands me to assure you that she is glad the Cabinet agree in their views respecting the question of Purchase in the Army. The necessity of abolishing the system has been

affirmed by very large majorities in the House of Commons and the objections now raised are merely on matters of detail.

349 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 14 June. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that at the morning sitting to-day the House went into Committee for the tenth time on the Army Bill. Much of the same obstruction, which it is difficult to characterize by the epithets it deserves, but of which there is little doubt that it is without precedent in the present generation, was continued ; but some progress was made, and the purchase clauses were finished at about 6 o'clock. In divisions the Government were supported by very large majorities ; but the leaders of the opposition took part, some by speech and some by vote, in the resistance offered. The subject will be resumed on Monday.

350 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 4. 1871.

The Queen is going on Wednesday to Osborne—where she must be 2 days before the C. P^{ce} & P^{cess} ¹ & their large family arrive there.—The Queen is vy much annoyed & displeased at the C. P^{cess}'s complete change of plans, *entirely* contrary to the Queen's long expressed wishes & advice—& to the extreme inconvenience of the P^{ce} & P^{cess} of Wales & the whole family.

The Queen must explain this to Mr. Gladstone & wishes him to tell Lord Granville of it too—for we are all so much annoyed about it.

351 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. July 5. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet has this day considered further the question of Royal Residence in Ireland and the best mode of meeting or setting aside the motion about to be made by Captain Stacpoole of which copy is enclosed. The Cabinet think Mr. Gladstone should refer to the questions and conversations which have occurred at various times with regard to the establishment of more extended personal relations between members of the

¹ The German Crown Prince and Princess.

Royal Family and Ireland ; and should state that the Government have considered this matter with a practical view, but they do not think it will be possible advantageously to call the attention of Parliament to it at this period of a very laborious Session, and that they propose to introduce the matter to Parliament at the commencement of the next Session in such form as may be deemed advisable.

352

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 6. 1871.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter.—She approves of his intended answer respecting Ireland with one exception, viz : the engagement to bring forward an arrangement next Session—w^h she w^{ld} strongly urge & advise him to omit.—This might hamper every one most inconveniently as is so often the case with engagements.—Say : “ on an early occasion ” or “ on the earliest occasion w^h is convenient.”

Something to this effect w^{ld} not bind or hamper the Queen & Govt while it in no way prevents its being brought forward next Session if thought advisable.

353

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 141-2.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 7. 1871.

The Queen wishes to draw Mr. Gladstone's attention to a subject w^h of late has caused her *some* anxiety. It is in connection with the Army Regulation Bill, now before Parliament, & with the various Plans for Army organization w^h may hereafter be submitted.

The Queen fears that the discussions w^h have taken place, have perhaps unavoidably given rise to strong political feelings among Officers of the Army, & she trusts that Mr. Gladstone will agree with her in the *necessity* of doing nothing to increase it.—

The principal object w^h the Queen has in writing, is to express her *earnest* hope that the Government will bear in mind the *entirely non-political* position of the Commander in Chief. The Queen thinks that *few more serious* evils c^{ld} arise to her as Sovereign, to the Army—& to the Country, than w^{ld} arise from the fact of the Office of Commander in Chief, or indeed of any other

Officer holding a high Military Command, being *considered* in ANY way *political*.—

The Queen makes these remarks with reference to the line w^h the Duke of Cambridge may be expected to take in the Debates w^h will occur. That the Duke will honourably & cordially assist the Government in carrying out any regulation w^h may be enacted, the Queen cannot for an instant doubt ; but she *strongly* deprecates *any* course of conduct being expected from him in open antagonism to the opposition & thus render his position *nearly untenable, in case a change of Govt* sh^d take place before the different plans connected with Army Organization have been finally disposed of. The Army as a body, has up to this time, in periods of great political excitement, continued very free from political bias, & the Queen believes that NO *one* has contributed *more* to this condition than the Duke of Cambridge by his *rigid abstention* from politics in the House of Lords, & *out of it*.— Though matters of Army Regulation may not properly be considered as political, it is plain that the present Military propositions of the Govt are taken up as party questions, & any strong support of them by Officers holding the highest Military commands will be looked upon as a political support of the Administration.

354 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 142-5.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. July 8. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that he read to the Cabinet this day the letter which he had the honour to receive from Your Majesty yesterday, in relation to the part which H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge may take on the Army Regulation Bill in the House of Lords.

Mr. Gladstone had hoped from a conversation he had the honour to hold with His Royal Highness on June 5, that this matter had been settled to the satisfaction of His Royal Highness no less than of the Government. On that day, Mr. Gladstone had pointed out that, as the illustrious Duke had been accustomed to give the House of Lords, in his capacity as a Peer, the benefit of his advice upon questions affecting the army, the expression of his opinion would in like manner be expected on the Army

Regulation Bill. . . . Further the Duke of Cambridge spoke to Lord Northbrook and Lord Kimberley on the subject, and made known to them his readiness, had the occasion been suitable (which it was not), to support the bill of the Government.

Mr. Gladstone would be sorry to ask of Your Majesty that there should be a hasty departure from precedent. But he believes that according to precedent the Commander in Chief, when a Peer, has not shrunk from giving his opinion on measures submitted to the House of Lords. In 1847, the Government of that day introduced the Short Service Bill, of which, on the merits, it is believed that the Duke of Wellington, the Commander in Chief, did not approve. Indeed he expressed in debate on April 26, 1847, his doubts whether the measure would produce the advantages which were anticipated from it; nevertheless, while having no political connection with the Government, he spoke and voted in a division, for the Bill. Indeed it is probable, as the members were only 108 to 94, that his speech and vote alone carried the Bill.

Your Majesty will not fail to bear in mind that, until 1855, there was always a very high military authority who was in political connection with the Government, namely the Master of the Ordnance. Indeed, unless Mr. Gladstone's recollection deceives him, Lord Beresford was required by the Duke of Wellington in 1829, as Master of the Ordnance, to support the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. And it is still regretted by many, that ministries have not, since, comprehended any such officer. All question, however, as to the political support of a Ministry of the military chiefs of the Army is now at an end.

Perhaps Mr. Gladstone may be warranted in representing to Your Majesty the efforts which the Government has made to meet Your Majesty's desires, and to avert any undue shock to the existing system. It is their fixed belief, that these efforts could not have been further extended without much risk. The Commandership in Chief has been exempted from the rule of the 5 years' Tenure: and the principle has been steadily maintained that, while the Secretary of State remains responsible, still the ordinary exercise of the Patronage, as well as the discipline of the Army, shall be vested in his hands. But it would have been impossible to procure the acquiescence of Parliament in these arrangements, unless they had been accompanied with the declaration of Mr. Cardwell, made in the name of the Cabinet and seen and

approved by Your Majesty that " it is of course necessary for the Commander in Chief to be in harmony with the Government of the day " ; and with a similar declaration of Mr. Gladstone on March 23, also reported to and approved by Your Majesty, that while all political action properly so called was entirely free, yet the military plans and measures of the Government must always have the energetic co-operation of the military chiefs of the Army.

In the present instance of the abolition of purchase, it may be remembered that recourse has been had to the Legislature for the sake of the Officers, but that the question, depending as it does only upon the Prerogative and the power of voting money, rests exclusively, for all practical purposes, with the Crown and the House of Commons. But if the Bill were to be thrown out in the House of Lords, much to the prejudice of the officers of the Army, while the abolition of purchase need not thereby be prevented, yet, if the Commander in Chief had withheld his support from the Bill, there is little doubt that its rejection would be followed by an immediate movement in the House of Commons against His Royal Highness ; nor can Your Majesty's advisers undertake to answer for the consequences. Nor can they think that the dignity of His Royal Highness as a Peer, and as a Prince, could be promoted by his now departing from his accustomed and salutary practice of advising the House on military questions.

Your Majesty, however, will clearly understand that what is asked from the Commander in Chief is not that he shall become in any way responsible for the original advice given to Your Majesty respecting the abolition of purchase. It is simply this : that, recognising as facts the action of the executive Government and of the House of Commons, he should in the actual situation of affairs urge upon the House of Lords that by at once concurring in the Bill they should secure the accomplishment of the abolition in such a *mode* as will at once put an end to uncertainty, in such a case most detrimental, and secure for the interests of those concerned the favourable treatment which may otherwise be put to serious hazard.

At the same time the Government are persuaded it is requisite that the support to be given to the Bill, as on the one side it may be free with respect to the question of purchase in the abstract, so, on the other side, should be unequivocal and decided.

For it is, in the mind of the Government, clear that the influence

of officers connected with the Horse Guards has been used adversely to the measure : and that public opinion even ascribes a similar use of influence, by the expression of unfavourable sentiments, to His Royal Highness. Doubtless this opinion is erroneous, but it is much to be desired that the effects produced by it should be removed. And generally Mr. Gladstone is persuaded that, in the arrangement made on June 5 with His Royal Highness, the course was taken which was most likely to promote alike Your Majesty's comfort and satisfaction, the influence and usefulness of the Commander in Chief, and the advantage of the Army as well as the nation.

Mr. Gladstone has endeavoured in this letter, while detaining Your Majesty at too great length, to set out the case with fulness ; and he has endeavoured in no way to go beyond the sentiments which are entertained by his colleagues in common with himself.

There was no other subject treated by the Cabinet to-day which it is necessary for him to bring before Your Majesty.

355 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 10-11. 1871.*

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to Your Majesty that he this day announced the views of the Government with regard to the question of an increase of the personal relations between the Royal Family and the Kingdom of Ireland, in those terms, of a general character, which Your Majesty had graciously approved. After some hesitation Mr. Stacpoole consented to withdraw his motion. It is now understood that the Government hold it unsuitable to proceed during the present Session, but that they will with this reservation bring the subject before Parliament at the earliest period which the state of public business may allow. . . .

356 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *11 July, 1871.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and is concerned to find himself obliged to refer to Your Majesty the enclosed question by Mr. Monck of which notice was given last night for Thursday—Mr. Monck is one of those members of the

Liberal party with whom difficulties occasionally arise. Last evening also Sir H. Verney, an old and respected member of Parliament, mentioned to Mr. Gladstone with regret an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* which Mr. Gladstone begged he would be good enough to send. It is within.

Mr. Gladstone would perhaps have done wisely if on Sunday he had enquired whether Your Majesty had any commands for him in reference to this subject.

From something conveyed to him on that day by his wife at Windsor, Mr. Gladstone believes that there is an entire misapprehension as to the manner in which it is come about that Their Imperial Highnesses¹ are entertained at Prussia House. But as this was only verbal, indirect, and confidential, Mr. Gladstone thinks it best to refer at once to Your Majesty for information and instructions. Your Majesty will perhaps reply either in writing or some confidential person and Mr. Gladstone will endeavour to conform himself exactly in the matter to Your Majesty's wishes. Though it is inconvenient that the question should be raised in Parliament touching anything that concerns Your Majesty's domestic arrangements, he thinks Your Majesty may agree in thinking that as it has been raised it had better be disposed of by a reply. . . .

357 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 12 July, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the Cabinet met to-day to consider the language to be held by the Government in the House of Lords to-morrow on the Army Regulation Bill. The Cabinet came to the conclusion that as it is impossible consistent with duty to allow the illegality of over-regulation prices, now made officially known to continue, it would be put to the House of Lords to make this known in debate, and to give it to be distinctly understood that the measures necessary for this end will be recommended to Your Majesty. These measures involve the immediate abolition of purchase.

The communication will be made to the House of Lords with a careful abstinence from anything like a threat. And the Government have attentively considered the best means of giving effect to

¹ The German Crown Prince and Princess.

this intention without any detriment if it be possible, and at least so far as depends upon them, to the interests of the officers.

Mr. Gladstone had the honour this morning of a lengthened interview with the Duke of Cambridge : and he made known afterwards to Sir T. Biddulph the sum of what had occurred. Mr. Gladstone urged upon the Duke that the recommendation to pass the Army Bill, at this juncture, does not involve the slightest interference in party politics, for no party, and no leaders of party, have declared themselves ready to maintain under present circumstances the system of purchase. On the other hand Mr. Gladstone represented the great responsibility which rests upon the Duke in the prospect of a near division in numbers, and his serious apprehension that if this responsibility is not adequately met by a decided conduct there would be a powerful movement in the House of Commons not only against the Duke but against his office, and against all those arrangements tending to secure its dignity and independence, which Your Majesty's Government have especially during the present Session laboured assiduously to secure.

Mr. Gladstone pointed out that the Government made their request as moderate as possible, and did not presume to ask for any compromise of opinion on the part of His Royal Highness but merely asked him to declare an opinion which he decidedly entertains, that as matters now stand the Bill ought to pass. From this request he did not think the Government could recede.

The Duke did not give a final answer as Mr. Gladstone had hoped : and there is reason for apprehension as to the results in connection with army arrangements, if the support of the Commander in Chief is withheld from the Bill. Sir T. Biddulph expressed his intention of speaking to the Duke this afternoon, and Lord Hartington will seek an interview for the same purpose. . . .

358 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *July 13. 1871.*

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that this day at the meeting of the House in answer to Mr. Monk he gave the simple explanation which appeared to be conformable to Your Majesty's wishes, and to the truth of the case : while he endeavoured to avoid giving it a turn which would have seemed to cast a reproach upon the

Crown Prince and Princess of Germany. With regard to the misapprehension which had been too easily entertained on this occasion, as well as with regard to some other symptoms manifested during the present year in particular they are probably rather due to a certain state of temper than to the mere circumstances which supply the occasion for giving them vent. . . .

359

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. July 15. 1871.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for all his letters—She thought he answered most judiciously on the subject of the C. P^{ce} & P^{cess}'s visit—& was g^{ty} shocked at the impertinent & vulgar article in yesterday's *Times*. *How* anyone who has the interest & dignity of their Sovereign & Country at heart can wish to *proclaim such things*—& thereby trumpet it all *OVER Europe*, is too *astounding*!

The Queen thinks however *with* Mr. Gladstone, that it is the temper of *people* of the House more than the circumstances themselves, w^h cause people really to ask & interfere with things w^h concern *no one*.

The Queen is sorry to think of the prospect of a lengthened session—She will hope to see Mr. Gladstone at Balmoral in September.—

The Queen approves of the proposal in the accompanying paper, only before agreeing to Mr. J. Gilbert's Knighthood she w^{ld} wish to know if the Artists in *general* recognise him as *eminent* enough *amongst the* Water Colour painters—to *make* this honour to him a compliment to them *in general*.

The Queen feels sure that Mr. Gladstone & the Govt must feel very grateful to the Duke of Cambridge for the support he has given to the Army Bill, while he has wisely & firmly maintained the position of Commander in Chief.

360 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 17 July, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . is rejoiced that his answer to Mr. Monk meets with Your Majesty's approval.

The Government were much gratified to find the speech of the Duke of Cambridge so framed, as to give in an effective sense

support to the Army Bill, while it was entirely appropriate to his peculiar position. Mr. Gladstone has, however, learnt with regret that the illustrious Duke intends to-day to offer some explanation with reference to that speech or to reports of it : as a prejudicial effect may readily be produced.

Mr. Gladstone has written to the President of the Academy to make inquiry about Mr. Gilbert.

361 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 147-8.)

10, DOWNING STREET. *July 18. 1871.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet met at 4 o'clock this day to consider the situation brought about by the vote of the House of Lords last night on the Army Bill. After the Cabinet had arrived at its principal resolution he telegraphed to Your Majesty as follows :

"The Cabinet advise the abolition of the warrant which authorises payments for Commissions. They would then proceed to take all the means in their power for securing to the officers both regulation and over regulation prices. I write by post and as Lord Halifax goes to Osborne to-morrow he will be able to give further explanation if required by Your Majesty."

The mode of procedure which the Cabinet propose to adopt is as follows : First with Your Majesty's gracious approval, to cancel the warrant forthwith. Next on Monday Mr. Gladstone will answer a question which is to be put by Sir G. Grey to the effect that a new warrant will be issued at once—that by this act the state of circumstances in which the House of Lords came to the Resolution of Monday is entirely altered—that we trust their Lordships may hereafter think proper to proceed to pass the second reading of the Bill, and to consider it in Committee. That we shall wait to see what course they may take ; and that under all circumstances we shall use the best means in our power to obtain just and liberal terms for the officers of the army. The views of the Cabinet are matured beyond the terms of this answer ; but they think it desirable to say nothing which could be construed either as a menace or as a bribe to the House of Lords, and to leave them in the position in which it will be easiest for them to pass the

Bill, since this is the method of proceeding best for the interests of all concerned.

But what they propose to themselves should the Lords refuse the Bill, is to propose a vote for regulation prices with a Bill for over-regulation prices, or if it should be found easier and simpler to cover the illegality of over-regulation by an act of Indemnity and then to propose a vote including both purposes.

The Government have been led to these conclusions by the belief that the course thus marked out is upon the whole the most constitutional, the most certain, the most likely to contribute to despatch, and the best if not the only one for securing to the officers of the army the full benefit of the term proposed for them.

Your Majesty will observe from this detail that it is of great importance to proceed with promptitude, and Mr. Gladstone trusts Your Majesty may see nothing requiring delay in the new Draft warrant which the new War Minister will submit.

362 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 22 July, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet at its meeting this day considered a minute to be laid before Your Majesty which will be written out fair, and duly forwarded as a record of the advice humbly tendered to Your Majesty with reference to the Purchase warrant. . . .

363 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 151-2.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 25 July, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone has the honour with his humble duty to transmit to Your Majesty the minute of Cabinet¹ respecting the Army Purchase Warrant, to which he has previously referred. The date affixed is that of the day which followed the advice of the Cabinet, and preceded the receipt of the warrant with the sign manual and the announcement made to the two Houses of Parliament.

¹ Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 152-4.

364 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

OSBORNE. Aug. 1. 1871.

Think your speech ¹ excellent & calculated to do much good.

365 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Aug. 1-2, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly acknowledges the receipt of Your Majesty's Telegram this day in relation to the debate on Prince Arthur's Annuity. Sensible of the difficulties which seem to have gathered about the question, he is happy to find Your Majesty satisfied with his method of dealing with it. . . .

366 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 3-4 August, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that, after a multitude of questions, some of them relating to the intended Camp of instruction, and put with some warmth, the second Reading of Prince Arthur's Annuity Bill was moved ; when, contrary to expectation, a short discussion took place. Sir W. Lawson, an opponent of the grant, defended his vote in a manner generally courteous and inoffensive ; and Colonel Barttelot, a supporter of the grant, expressed a desire for Your Majesty's more frequent appearance in public. His speech, though not very happily expressed, was by no means ill-intended, and was received with some sympathy on both sides of the House. Mr. Gladstone, in referring to this speech after he had offered explanations on some other parts of the subject, stated that he was sure it would be observed with pleasure that Your Majesty had felt able to appear more frequently during the present year, in public for the discharge of duty ; and that at all times Your Majesty would be desirous to undertake all which Your Majesty might be advised, and might believe, that your health and strength would permit. Mr. Gladstone also, in referring to an expression of Colonel Barttelot's, stated, amidst much cheering from the House, that it was the undiminished and ever warm affection of the country towards Your Majesty, which was

¹ On Prince Arthur's annuity.

the true source of whatever impatience it might be tempted to feel.

There was no disposition to widen the field of discussion, and the House speedily went into Committee on the Ballot Bill. Mr. Gladstone has confined himself to a simple recital of what preceded, and although he has seen the communications which have proceeded from Your Majesty within the last few days through Mr. Helps,¹ he abstains at this time from all collateral remark, as he is extremely unwilling to add, without any immediate practical purpose in view, to Your Majesty's anxieties for a single moment, and will always limit himself when he has the honour to see or write to Your Majesty, to that which is strictly necessary: unless when he sees reason to believe it to be Your Majesty's desire that he should fully open his views. He will, however, go so far as to express his hope that Your Majesty may perceive, that, when recently at Windsor he pressed with some apparent pertinacity his view of the question connected with the Vice Royalty of India, he had in his mind among other advantages likely to be attained, a diminution of probable pressure on Your Majesty. . . .

367

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. 4 August, 1871.

The Queen was going to write to thank Mr. Gladstone for his kind expressions & for his *defence* of her yesterday ev^g wh came v^y opportunely—when she rec^d his letters. She will not say anything more now—but thinks that if occasion offers again that he will state the whole of the *facts*, WHAT the Queen *has* done *never* neglecting what she c^{ld} do—& what was essential & *what* she *absolutely cannot do*—& what it is folly to ask or expect.

The Irish Visit has gone off v^y well—but *too* often repeated in *this* way w^{ld} not do. P^{ce} Arthur might go over again in the winter perhaps for a short while. The Vice Royalty the Queen thinks w^{ld} in *no* way help her.

368

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. 5 August, 1871.

The Queen sends Mr. Gladstone the Copy of a letter she rec^d today from the P. of Wales wh^h is v^y satisfactory.

¹ Clerk of the Privy Council.

Evy Irishman the Queen has spoken to is for the short residence *not* too long, of some one member of the Royal family—each year—if possible.

369 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *August 8. 1871.*

Mr. Gladstone . . . humbly submits herewith a note which he received this morning from the Speaker of the House of Commons.

He understands it is possible he may be asked whether the Cabinet is responsible for advising Your Majesty with respect to movements.

It is always with great regret that he observes anything which may be likely to interfere in any degree with Your Majesty's convenience : but he is unable on reflection to offer any suggestion other than that contained in his letter written during the last sitting of the House, and this he humbly submits to Your Majesty's wisdom.¹

The Cabinet, however, meets to-morrow and Mr. Gladstone might report to Your Majesty by telegraph.

370 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[*Telegram*]

OSBORNE. *Aug. 9. 1871.*

I desire that no decision may be come to relative to the reply to be made tomorrow till you hear from me what I can do I will but no more.

371 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *August 9. 1871.*

. . . Mr. Gladstone is sure Parliament would receive with gratitude an announcement that Your Majesty's movements on the present occasion would be governed by a reference to the progress of business and to the Prorogation.

Your Majesty may view with surprise the difference between the humour (so to call it) now existing, and that which has prevailed on other occasions. As to the fact, however, there can be no doubt ; though the cause may admit only of very partial explanation. With an earnest and vividly felt desire to see Your Majesty,

¹ The suggestion was that the Queen's departure for Balmoral should be delayed until Parliament was prorogued.

and to be assured by signs of Your Majesty's discharge of the great duties and functions of the Throne, there are combined influences which may be more or less of a temporary character. The excitement due to events abroad is increased, perhaps, by another excitement, connected with the exhaustion of severe labour and the excessive pressure of business. It is also possible that the House of Commons may be rather more exacting in its temper at this moment for the reason that many of its members take credit to themselves for their ready and zealous support of the Annuity to Prince Arthur ; as the votes of many of them in its favour are stated to have been given with a full knowledge or belief that they would be unacceptable to, and perhaps resented by, considerable bodies of their constituents. The grace and condescension which are both natural and habitual to Your Majesty will, Mr. Gladstone trusts, easily meet the circumstances of the moment.

372 (*Copy*) *Queen Victoria to Lord Hatherley*¹

OSBORNE. *August 10. 1871.*

Having entrusted the Lord Chancellor with the message, the Queen thinks it right to repeat in writing what she said to him.

The Queen has seen from long experience that the more she yields to pressure & clamour where it is not for an important Political purpose, that it only encourages further demands. The Queen feels sure that if she goes beyond a certain limit now, she will be teased & tormented every year and probably prevented (or at least it will be attempted) from doing what for her health which as she grows older, & as the long wear & tear of hard work, unceasing anxiety & responsibility must tell more & more upon her, will be more & more necessary. If there was a great important question to be decided the Queen would not hesitate in sacrificing her convenience, tho' she might not be able to do so for her health ; but where it is merely to gratify a fancy of the troublesome House of Commons, especially when it is their fault that Parliament has lasted so long—she must say she thinks it very unwise to yield beyond a certain point.

She has been so much abused & attacked by the infamous newspapers that she cannot well be more. The Queen is feeling extremely unwell & if this heat lasts, every day she loses in getting to Scotland will add to this.

¹ Lord Chancellor.

What the Queen would therefore consent to do would be if Parlt will try & hasten their labours to remain (at considerable inconvenience as it is) till the 18th so that the Prorogation may be on the 19th. Should however by tomorrow it be clear that this is impossible, she would start as originally intended on the 15th.

Under all circumstances what the Queen will absolutely insist on, is a firm high tone of reproof as to the interference with the Queen's personal acts & movements which have now been called in question for the 4th time this year & which the Prime Minister must once for all (as she knows was his original intention when her supposed message to Captain Hozier was called in question) put a stop to & refuse to answer.

The Queen will not remain where she is, worked & worried and worn, if she is to become the Servant of Parliament and to be responsible to them for all she does ! This must be stopped.

In the same way the Queen expects her Ministers to state the *whole truth* & not to keep saying they are sorry she cannot do this & that & *hope* she will *do more* as time goes on ! This was a great mistake on Lord Granville's part & both he & Mr. Gladstone sh^d boldly have said, the Queen has failed in some of her Regal duties—tho' always suffering more or less from them.

She has opened Parliament this year & the fatigue & trouble & agitation of Princess Louise's marriage, held all her Drawing-rooms, Investitures—Councils—received all the Royal Visitors who came, held 2 Reviews, & went to 2 public breakfasts, besides opening the Albert Hall & St. Thomas' Hospital. All these have been done in one year & the Queen would really ask what right anyone has to complain.

They should also plainly state that the Queen cannot undertake any night work in hot rooms & when much talking is required, nor any residence in London beyond 2 or 3 days at a time as the air, noise & excitement make her quite ill, cause violent headaches & great prostration.

It is really abominable that a woman, a Queen, loaded with care & anxieties, public & domestic which are daily increasing should be unable to make people understand that there are limits to her powers.

What killed her beloved Husband ? Overwork & worry—what killed Lord Clarendon ? The same. What has broken down Mr.

Bright & Mr. Childers & made them retire, but the same ; & the Queen, a woman, no longer young is supposed to be proof against all & to be driven & abused till her nerves & health will give way with this worry & agitation and interference in her private life.

She must solemnly repeat that unless her ministers support her & state the whole truth she cannot go on & must give her heavy burden up to younger hands.

Perhaps then those discontented people may regret that they broke her down when she might still have been of use.

373 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

IX, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 10-11 August, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that he answered the question of Mr. Candlish this day in the House of Commons without having had the advantage of any reply from Your Majesty to his letters of and since Monday, and therefore of necessity in general terms, which however the House did not seem indisposed to accept.

He has this evening telegraphed to Your Majesty from the House of Commons and therefore not in cipher, in the following terms—" Answer brief and general, not unfavourably taken."

374 (Copy) *Queen Victoria to Lord Hatherley*

OSBORNE. Aug. 11. 1871. Midnight.

The Queen has to thank the Ld Chanc^r for the extreme kindness of his letter, & can assure him that she entirely understood & appreciated his motives, & she can also assure him that the decision she came to was in no way the result of hasty or sudden thought, but of mature reflection, the result of *years of experience*, which have *taught* her that to *yield to mere idle clamour, & fancy*, where *NO real important* object is *at stake*, when she would *not* have hesitated in sacrificing her *own* convenience, were it not seriously detrimental to her health. But she is *perfectly certain* that if she *yields now*, the more so when there are *means of preventing any delay*, she will *never* be left at *peace or rest*, & that therefore, as she perceives Mr. Gladstone said, there would be no *delay*, which was not ill received. As Parliament (she hears *tonight* from Mr. Gladstone) CANNOT be prorogued till the 22nd (& may be later *she* thinks), the Queen will leave for Scotland on

Wednesday *evg*, the 16th—A Secretary of State going with her, & another Minister arriving on Monday *m^s*, or Sunday *ev^s* or *m^s* even probably, to enable the Council to be held on the 21st at 10 or $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10.

No *earthly political* object can be *gained* by her remaining a week longer, except gratifying a *foolish & unreasonable fancy*, which would *in no way prevent further* ill-natured comment, would be a very bad precedent, & would cause her very *serious inconvenience*. If it had been on the 19th, the Queen would have urged having the Council on the 17th (which has been the case before) & would have started that night.

The Queen is still feeling very far from well, very weak & nervously exhausted, suffering much from the heat. Perhaps neither the Chancellor or Mr. Gladstone are aware that the Queen has *not prorogued Parlt in person* since the year : 52. That would *next* be asked !!

The Queen must again thank the Lord Chancellor for his letter & for his kind manner of expressing his views & feelings.

The Queen will write further to the Lord Chanc^r on the *subject* of her health, & the amount of exertion she is able to make & to bear, & what she cannot. The Queen's own son the Duke of Edinburgh, a *Peer* would make the 3rd P.C. as his dear father did on similar occasions.

She wd be thankful if the Chanc^r wd send her a copy of this letter.

375 (Copy) Queen Victoria to Mr. Helps¹

OSBORNE. 12 Aug. 1871.

The Queen thanks Mr. Helps very much for his letter which has not displeased her, for she knows it is well and kindly meant. But it *has greatly* surprised her—for she thinks it very *mistaken* advice & that it would be a grievous fault to confound weighty & important matters of State with trifling fancies. Every one will get away and the Queen will have to *wait* for them. She is not worrying herself as she has so completely made up her mind. But she is so extremely unwell with a very troublesome relaxed swelled throat, great prostration, total loss of appetite, and want of sleep, & *no* quiet that she must get away without loss of a day

¹ Clerk of the Privy Council.

if possible and this she *can* do *now*. She must say that under these circumstances she is a good deal surprised at Mr. Helps saying "It is only till the 21st"!!! when it entails *another* week in this heat and relaxing air, & total disarrangement of all her plans!!

The Queen sees no other course for her to pursue in the future, but the one she has pursued. . . .

The Queen concludes there must be a Council before she goes anywhere, in which case it could be at Windsor on Wednesday at half past 2.

She *had* to give her orders for all her movements which require much arrangement this morning :—& they have *all been* given for her leaving *this* on Tuesday afternoon & Windsor on *Wednesday night*. Tell Lord Granville the Queen makes no difficulty as to which Sec. of State goes with her. Lord Kimberley¹ will do *quite* well.

376 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 12 August 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and humbly acknowledges Your Majesty's communication of yesterday through Mr. Helps.

He is deeply sensible of the arduous nature of the charge to which Your Majesty has been called, and of the many limitations which such a charge imposes upon the freedom of a Sovereign while large numbers of her subjects are free from them.

He will venture to add that he never personally receives Your Majesty's gracious courtesies without a sense of regret that he should himself occupy any portion of the time and care which he knows to be so precious.

He does not propose, and Your Majesty he thinks would not wish, that he should at this time enter on the various subjects of Your Majesty's communication.

He need only mention to Your Majesty that in strict conformity with what he understood to be Your Majesty's commands, no day for Your Majesty's departure has been named to the House of Commons but the House has been informed that it had been postponed from the day originally intended, and likewise that in any arrangements much regard would be had to the public convenience.

¹ Colonial Secretary.

Since Mr. Gladstone wrote thus far the Cabinet has met. It will be to the Ministers as he finds a subject of much regret if Your Majesty is prevented from staying in the South until the evening of the Prorogation. They hope for Your Majesty's commands as to the latest day on which communication may be held with Your Majesty as to the particulars of the Speech from the Throne.

The Government see no reason to apprehend that the prorogation need be delayed beyond the 22nd. . . .

377 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. Aug. 14. 1871. 5.30 p.m.

. . . The Queen might, I suppose, if so minded, make her night journey to Holyrood on Saturday and proceed on Sunday night to Balmoral.

But there is no possibility, I fear, of so arranging matters as to enable her to get away on Friday night.

We have done all we can. She will decide. Of course, if challenged, I shall take the responsibility. But this shield will not wear very long. The whole business is one of the most deplorable I have ever known. . . . And yet the woes of fancy are as real in their consequences as, and far more truly formidable than, the most fearful dispensations of Providence.

378 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. August 15. 1871.

. . . May I venture to observe that it sometimes strikes me The Queen does not fully understand the case. I do not know what the Lord Chancellor said, but I think Her Majesty looks upon the question of her staying for the Prorogation as a very small matter. And moreover one that scarcely affects herself. I mean I think she looks on it as if she were being urged to do this for a political purpose—In order to help the Government. . . .

379 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

16th August, 1871.

I am surprised and sorry, that the Queen should think that we have had really in our minds, during this deplorable business, the benefit of the Government, an idea which I believe has never

occurred to any of us. But I am much obliged to you, as it is so for mentioning it, and I trust you will always speak out freely whatever you consider to be needful or useful. I do not for a moment doubt the reality of the consequences which are due to so truly wretched a cause.

Upon the whole I think it has been the most sickening piece of experience which I have had during near forty years of public life.

Worse things may easily be imagined : but smaller and meaner cause for the decay of Thrones cannot be conceived. It is like the worm which bores the bark of a noble oak tree and so breaks the channel of its life.

380 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

Sept. 6. 1871.

I am extremely concerned to hear, by your letter forwarded to me from Hawarden, of the Queen's suffering state and I shall be very anxious to know more when light shall have been thrown upon the case by a more positive and decided opinion from the doctors. I grudge exceedingly her losing any part of the enjoyment and benefit which she usually derives from the happy combination of air and exercise with retirement at Balmoral. . . .

381 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

BALMORAL CASTLE. 26 Sept. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone in announcing with his humble duty his arrival at the Castle, aware of Your Majesty's habitual condescension and courtesy intreats Your Majesty after so serious a derangement of health on no account to make any effort for the purpose of seeing him during his stay. Mr. Gladstone is pleased on hearing from Colonel Ponsonby that Your Majesty is at present making progress towards recovery.

382 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. Sept. 27. 1871.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind letter rec^d yesterday ev^g :—She has every hope, if she continues to improve as she has done the last 3 days, that she will be able to see Mr. Gladstone in a day or 2.—

It is nearly 6 weeks since the Queen has been ill & her sufferings have *been great*.

From the 27th Aug. : till the 16th we had the most uninterruptedly fine weather.

383

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Oct. 2. 1871.

There is a subject ^{w^h} the Queen ^{w^{ld}} have mentioned to Mr. Gladstone yesterday but that she felt she was unequal to talk much.—

She therefore writes it.—It is one ^{w^h} she has often thought of of late—& ^{w^h} she thinks will strike Mr. Gladstone as well worth entertaining. It is not yet in a *form* to be discussed in detail—but the Queen hopes *vy* shortly to be able to send it him in such a form as to be capable of serious consideration.—

It is the subject of some distinctive badge or honour of a lower grade ^{w^h} in the *line* the Queen ^{w^{ld}} propose does *not* exist in *England* tho' it does *abroad*.

There are medals given to Arctic discoverers—including officers & men ;—also of late for saving lives at sea &c.—Non-Commissioned officers receive *Good Conduct* Medals—as well as for bravery in the field.—

Now—there are *services*, in their way *equally valuable meritorious & indeed important* & those are : *personal*, devoted, & *faithful* services to the Sovereign, ^{w^h} pass by without any distinctive badge ^{w^h} ^{w^{ld}} be an object of pride & gratitude & emulation to many—who feel that they have done as much & far more as many *gentlemen* at Court—& yet *no one ever* hears of them. *What* in fact can be more important in fact than the faithfulness & discretion & *independent* unselfishness of those personal servants who are constantly about the Sovereign, who, as everyone is, must in *many* ways be *vy* dependent on them ?—

To encourage & reward them independent of money ^{w^{ld}} be to *raise them* in their own eyes & of those of the Public.—Now in Prussia & in Grandducal Hesse—the *small medal* to be worn at the button hole, is given to the Servants who have served 25—& 50 years ;—for long or particularly faithful Servants—with the Sovereign's head on one side & the person's name & any remark as to the peculiar service ^{w^h} entitles them to it,—

This has struck the Queen as an excellent plan. It w^{ld} merely require a small sum to furnish the Medals—w^h the Queen thinks the Treasury w^{ld} easily grant.

It w^{ld} give these people the feeling that the humblest services are prized & recognised—& not for ever unnoticed, on acc^t of these humbler positions, while any gentleman may look to Orders &c. In these days especially the Queen thinks it w^{ld} have a vy good effect.

384 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

BALMORAL. *October 3. 1871.*

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to acknowledge Your Majesty's letter of yesterday evening respecting Medals to be given for long or special service to the domestic servants of the Sovereign.

Mr. Gladstone has conversed on this subject with Colonel Ponsonby.

Probably Your Majesty will consider further in what particular way effect can best be given to this intention. Mr. Gladstone's knowledge is not sufficient to enable him to say whether it could properly take the form of a Fourth Class of the Order which, though confined to Ladies, already exists in Your Majesty's Family and Household.

Mr. Gladstone would not advise an application to the House of Commons on the subject, and thinks that, among other points, it would be inconvenient as tending towards interference with Your Majesty's personal discretion in the grant of the distinction. But he thinks there would be no difficulty in meeting the small expense to be entailed.

Mr. Gladstone reflects with cordial pleasure that he will leave Your Majesty on the way as he trusts to an early and complete recovery from Your Majesty's trying illness.

385 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. *Oct. 3. 1871.*

The Queen is desirous before Mr. Gladstone leaves to write to him on a subject which of late has caused her *much anxiety*, & on w^h, had she felt stronger, she w^{ld} have spoken.

It is the question of the future relations of the Commander in Chief with the Secretary of State for War.—

The question is not merely what will be the Duke of Cambridge's position, but what will be the *future* position of Officers entrusted with the commands of the Army.—

The Queen cannot help seeing the increasing disposition of Parliament to interfere with all executive functions & she *deprecates* in the **STRONGEST manner** interference with the *discipline* of the Army.—

The Queen concludes that *vy* shortly the provisions of the new system for the organization of the Army & Reserve forces will be submitted to her, under w^h promotion is to be by selection. Mr. Gladstone well knows *how* just will be the jealousy of any *supposed political partiality* in this matter. In the Queen's opinion the only means by which the new system can be made to work satisfactorily will be by making the Army & the *Public* feel that the *non-political* Commander in Chief *is clearly* the *Head of the Army* as regards promotion & discipline & that *no change w^h has taken place has diminished his importance & authority in those respects.*— There is another point to w^h the Queen will advert: viz: the removal of the Commander in Chief's Office from the Horse Guards to Pall Mall.¹ It was *distinctly* understood that the removal was *only* a *temporary* measure, & plans have been submitted for the erection of an entire set of new buildings, none of these plans appeared very satisfactory, & they all agreed in one point which the Queen must consider a *vy unnecessary & extravagant Scheme*, to build a new Commander in Chief's Office near the present Horse Guards, while the old Building is quite sufficient for its purpose & might be united to the War Office by the erection of a new War Office adjoining it.—

The Queen earnestly asks Mr. Gladstone to bear these matters in mind when the Ministers assemble again for business.

386

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. October 7. 1871.

. . . I gather that The Queen has been very much pleased with your visit. I am afraid (privately) that Lord Granville is not in very good favor now, because when he is, he is able to say so much more than most people. . . .

¹ The War Office.

387 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 6 Nov. 1871.

. . . Mr. Gladstone has to-day seen Your Majesty's letter to Mr. Fortescue¹ respecting Railway accidents and the conduct of ministers in respect to legislation for the prevention of them.

He humbly represents that Your Majesty has written under an evident misapprehension—Mr. Fortescue's Bill was not withdrawn, but received Your Majesty's assent : and the Railway Inspectors have reported very favourably to Mr. Fortescue of its operation.

388 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 164-5.)

BALMORAL. 19 Nov. 1871.

The Queen has for some days doubted whether she sh^{ld} write to Mr. Gladstone on a subject w^h has attracted her attention, & w^h appears to have created considerable sensation in the mind of the Public viz : the Speech made last week by Sir C. Dilke at Newcastle.

The Queen is aware that Mr. Gladstone made some allusion to this Speech at the Mansion House & expressed his preference for the Institutions under w^h this Country is governed to a Republic, w^h Sir C. Dilke prefers. But if the Queen understood the meaning of Mr. Gladstone's remarks on the subject, he intimated that the question was *one* w^h was *open* to discussion.

The Queen after considering with much attention the expediency of generally noticing or leaving alone speeches of a violent character, made by persons of little weight, feels it due to Mr. Gladstone not to conceal from him, that, in this case, merely taking into account the attack made on the Institutions of the Country, & for the moment putting aside the unfounded & unwarrantable statements put forth with regard to herself & the administration of the Civil List, she does not feel entirely satisfied with the disclaimer of participation in such sentiments as made by Mr. Gladstone & wishes to put it to him whether he or at least some of his Colleagues sh^{ld} not take an opportunity of reprobating in very strong terms such language.

At present, & now for many days these Revolutionary Theories are allowed to produce what effect they may in the minds of the

¹ President of the Board of Trade.

Working Classes. Gross misstatements & fabrications injurious to the credit of the Queen & injurious to the Monarchy remain unnoticed & uncontradicted, some of w^h—such as the Queen never having paid the Income Tax, can be called nothing but deliberate falsehoods, & c^{ld} be contradicted at once by any Official person.

The Queen feels that in writing thus freely & to Mr. Gladstone on this subject she is not only consulting her own interests & the interests of the Monarchy but also the interests of the Government. She does *not* for a moment *doubt* the sentiments of the Cabinet on the subject & only wishes that they *sh^{ld} be expressed*, for Mr. Gladstone may feel assured that a large section of his supporters in Parliament & out of it view with abhorrence the revolutionary theories now promulgated, & naturally look to him & to his Colleagues for some very decided expression of their condemnation of such opinions.

The Queen would ask Mr. Gladstone to give these remarks his serious consideration.

389 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 165-9.)

HAWARDEN, 22 Nov. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty thanks Your Majesty for having written to him in so clear and explicit a manner on the late Speech of Sir Charles Dilke at Newcastle, and the topics which connect themselves with it.

In so doing, Your Majesty has only anticipated Mr. Gladstone. These subjects have for some time been to him matter of daily and of increasingly grave consideration. If he has not troubled Your Majesty upon them, it has been in the first place from his anxiety, after Your Majesty's severe and trying illness, to confine himself for the time, and in the absence of pressing necessity, to business of routine in his communications with Your Majesty; and secondly because there are but few days on which the pressure of his ordinary correspondence is sufficiently lightened to enable him to approach, with the freedom of mind which they require, subjects of so much delicacy and importance. He will not on this occasion go beyond what stands in immediate connection with the points raised in Your Majesty's letter.

Mr. Gladstone does not know from what report Your Majesty's

impressions of his speech at the Guildhall have been derived ; and he may have mistaken the force and bearing of his own words ; but he does not think that they either stated, or conveyed to his audience simple preference for a Monarchy as against a Republic, or that the question between these two was in his view an open question. Sir Charles Dilke's speech overshot its mark ; and produced, as Mr. Gladstone hopes and thinks, a reaction of feeling in the minds of the great majority of the country. He is not at all sure that this reaction would have been accelerated or strengthened, if he as Minister had reprobated in very strong terms Sir Charles Dilke's declaration in favour of Republicanism, which was abstract and prospective, and not of a nature to bring into question allegiance or obedience to the laws. Mistakenly or not, Mr. Gladstone had a reason for avoiding the use of these strong terms in the way of reprobation, and for employing them only to express the views of the Government with respect to the preservation and perpetuation of the Monarchy. His reason was this. He regarded it as a fact of extreme gravity, giving much cause for reflection, that any public man, even of the moderate weight of Sir Charles Dilke, should have propounded these views to a large public meeting in Newcastle, and should have received a vote of thanks for his speech. Mr. Gladstone thought under these circumstances (and what has since taken place confirms his opinion) that a severe denunciation by him of Sir Charles Dilke's declaration, though it doubtless would have gratified many, would have tended to exasperate and harden such persons as composed the Newcastle Meeting. They are a small minority, as he hopes, in the country. But a few years ago that minority (so far as he knows) did not exist. The causes, that have brought it into existence, may lead to its growth. Its existence at all is not only matter of grief and pain to Mr. Gladstone and his Colleagues, but is also a matter of grave public importance. The mode of handling it is a subject for much consideration : and in Mr. Gladstone's belief the best mode is to deal as lightly as may be with the mere signs, but seriously with the causes of the distemper. For the moment he deemed it his most prudent course to speak slightly of Sir Charles Dilke's Republicanism, but very strongly indeed of the Monarchy. He is indeed aware that in the execution of this design he may have succeeded very ill : but he trusts he has now explained his motive and purpose to Your Majesty.

The second part of Your Majesty's letter touches those imputations on the Legislature and Government of the country which are connected with the Civil List and which more or less reflect upon Your Majesty at least to the extent of causing pain and just annoyance.

Mr. Gladstone writes from memory and may be in error ; but he is not aware that the false statement relating to the Income Tax has been made by any responsible person. If it has, or if Your Majesty desire it, the truth should certainly be told. But Mr. Gladstone ventures humbly so far to differ from Your Majesty that he much doubts whether it be advisable that (unless an obvious opportunity should offer) a Minister should give the contradiction.

And so with regard to the Civil List. Mr. Gladstone would remind Your Majesty that for the whole of the arrangements connected with it Ministers are responsible. Were any of them to enter into the argument with Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Gladstone has the fear that the effect might be to widen, and, so to speak, establish the controversy. A statement proceeding from them, and putting the antagonist on the defensive, would infallibly provoke further questions. It is also very difficult for them to tender in their own person, any incomplete statement, without being open to a charge of reticence and deceit, from which even Your Majesty, however unjustly, might suffer. But if the statement is to be complete, it must bring into view matters that have as yet scarcely, or not at all, been touched, and the discussion of which Mr. Gladstone would be inclined to deprecate in the present state of the public mind. The same objections would scarcely apply to a non-official statement ; but its benefit would be limited. Mr. Gladstone will endeavour however further to examine whether such a statement would be advisable.

Mr. Gladstone has thus far submitted to Your Majesty what are simply his own views. It has been his intention to take counsel from colleagues, or from the Cabinet, upon them when the Ministers next meet in London ; as by that time he hoped to be able to have carefully reviewed and weighed, to the best of his ability, all that belonged to the subject. He will however obey any, even the slightest, wish of Your Majesty with regard to an earlier consultation on the points opened in Your Majesty's letter.

In conclusion, he again thanks Your Majesty for the just and condescending frankness of your letter. And he begs Your Majesty

to believe that what he earnestly desires is not to avoid taking his own decided part in a controversy respecting Republicanism in this country, if there is to be one, but to obviate such a controversy altogether, or to reduce it to insignificance, and, if it may be, bring it into contempt. The delicacy and importance of the question how this may best be done will serve, he hopes, as his excuse, first for his troubling Your Majesty with so long a letter, and secondly for his admitting that it is far from disposing comprehensively or sufficiently of the question so properly raised by Your Majesty.

He takes leave to add that had Sir C. Dilke been a person at all open to influence or persuasion from the Government an attempt of that kind would have been made. But on the contrary his feelings towards it are for whatever reason hostile, and he moved a vote of censure on its policy with respect to the Black Sea in the early part of the last Session.

Mr. Gladstone trusts Your Majesty is making continued advances towards complete recovery.

390 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 170.)

HAWARDEN. 28th Nov. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and is deeply concerned that Your Majesty should be visited with a subject of domestic anxiety in the health of one so near and dear as the Prince of Wales,¹ as well as that it should have fallen to him to address Your Majesty at such a season on subjects of public care and solicitude.

Mr. Gladstone earnestly hopes that the powers of physical resistance, which are so prominently brought into view on this occasion, may by God's mercy insure the favourable course of the disorder, and bring about a speedy relief to the mind especially of Your Majesty and the Princess of Wales. He is glad to have received while writing, an account which appears to give the hope of decided improvement.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's² engagement to Halifax is on Monday next the 4th. Before that day comes Mr. Gladstone hopes to see and consider with him carefully the question what language it may be most prudent then to hold, with a view either

¹ The Prince of Wales was suffering from typhoid fever.

² Mr. R. Lowe.

to clearing the controversy or at any rate to providing that it shall be clearly understood that the persons really arraigned in it are Your Majesty's advisers, and they only, except as far as Parliament may in any point share their responsibility.

391

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 172.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. Dec. 4. 1871.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter & sympathy in this time of g^t & painful anxiety, wh^h prevented her answering him sooner or entering at length into the subject of Sir C. Dilke's disgraceful conduct.

While the Queen is very hopeful that this dreadful illness may end favourably—we must still feel *very* anxious for some time to come.—On Thursday night we were very anxious, as the breathing was so rapid & of so unsatisfactory a nature.—Since that night—*that* has been rather better & still more so since yesterday—but *still*, till this fearful disease has run its full course—the Doctors say one must not & cannot be too confident.

The Queen herself is *not* ill—but not regaining strength & is still lame & unable to walk out of doors.

With respect to Sir C. Dilke's proceedings & the meetings he has attended, while the Queen is in no way disposed to think this sh^{ld} be disregarded she also is perfectly satisfied that the bulk of the nation is thoroughly loyal & only *wants* to be well led, & for the Govt. to take a firm stand against revolutionary & extreme views & hold a high tone to keep *all straight*.

But it will no longer do to try to *please* the radicals by going further & further in that direction or by appearing to *fear* the House of Commons.

Mr. Gladstone & the Govt. must take a bold firm line & they will rally round them all their best & truest supporters.

She hopes to see Mr. Gladstone before long.

392 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 174–5.)HAWARDEN. 5th Dec. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acknowledges Your Majesty's gracious letter of yesterday, and has especial pleasure

in doing this on a day, when the telegrams last received respecting the health of the Prince of Wales appear to be more marked in a favourable sense, than they have been on any previous day of this most critical illness.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer¹ came here on Saturday, to consider what were the points on which he might most advantageously dwell in his speech at Halifax, with reference to the recent declarations and criticisms of Sir Charles Dilke.

Mr. Gladstone does not find, in the report of the speech which he has read in to-day's papers, a reference to one point on which he was to touch, namely, the obvious but important one of the exclusive responsibility of Ministers for the arrangements connected with the Civil List, and with the redemption of the pledge of Sir Robert Peel in 1842 respecting the Income Tax. He fears that this may have escaped Mr. Lowe's recollection, unless indeed the report be in fault; but it is probable that some other opportunity will soon occur. Meantime it is plain that Sir Charles Dilke's language has drawn down upon him a vast preponderance of disapproval, and Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks that, so far as his abstract opinions are concerned, the more independent this disapproval is, the better. What is really to be desired, however, is not the establishment of the undoubted fact of the general attachment of the nation to the Monarchy, but the return of the public sentiment to the state in which it has existed through most of Your Majesty's reign, and in a great degree owing to Your Majesty's conduct, namely, the state in which Republican opinions could nowhere show their head, nor claim any visible minority, however small, of adherents. That this matter will continue to engage the most careful reflection of the Government, Your Majesty may rest assured.

Mr. Gladstone humbly acquaints Your Majesty that, in conformity with the views expressed to Your Majesty at Balmoral, he has been in communication with Mr. Bright on the state of public affairs. Mr. Bright, who, as he may mention, is much concerned and shocked at the recent proceedings, ponders much on the subject of office, from doubts, perhaps it should rather be said from the remains of misgiving, as to the sufficiency of his strength; but it would not surprise Mr. Gladstone if he were to conclude by allowing his name to be submitted to Your Majesty

¹ Mr. R. Lowe.

for the Chancellorship of the Duchy. His accession to the office would have a quieting effect on the public mind.

As Mr. Gladstone observes that Your Majesty intends to see him before long, he humbly entreats Your Majesty, on this and on all occasions in summoning him to your presence, to allow the time and manner to be such, as shall imply the smallest inroad on Your Majesty's comfort and repose.

He hopes that Your Majesty may shortly recover the important power of walking exercise out of doors.

393 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Dec. 6. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, transmits to Your Majesty a speech of Mr. Jacob Bright M.P. on Monday which he thinks exhibits a fair specimen of the useful things likely to be said on the subject of Sir C. Dilke's republicanism by the sober-minded portion of the class of extreme politicians. To that class both of these gentlemen belong. It is easy, as Mr. Gladstone need hardly observe, to find arguments against Sir C. Dilke which will please persons already convinced of the folly of his doctrine. But the value of Mr. Jacob Bright's remarks lies in this that they are likely to gain attention and acceptance from persons who are more or less in sympathy with republican idea, and to discredit Sir C. Dilke in the only quarters where he is not discredited already. . . .

394 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. December 7. 1871.

The Queen commands me to thank you for your letter and especially for the expressions respecting herself with which Her Majesty is much gratified.

The Queen thinks you must have seen an incorrect report of Mr. Lowe's speech as he appears to have alluded to the points you mention and to have accepted the responsibility of answering the charges made by Sir Charles Dilke. He also corrected the misstatements as to the non payment of Income Tax.

The Queen is certainly pleased with his speech. Her Majesty remarked that when Mr. Lowe said he would be prepared with the fullest information and explanation in Parliament he seemed to

admit the right of those who demand enquiry, an enquiry which you thought in one of your previous letters should be deprecated.

The Queen commands me to add that she learns with much pleasure that you think there is a possibility of Mr. Bright's rejoining the Government and Her Majesty trusts your anticipation will be realised.

The Accounts from Sandringham vary from day to day but are certainly satisfactory.

395 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 177-8.)

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 11 December, 1871.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, regrets that established rule requires him to intrude upon Your Majesty, even for a formal purpose, at this moment of grief and apprehension.

It need, however, be for little more than form that he writes to mention the meeting of the Cabinet to-day, which took place at Lord Granville's in order to save him from the inconvenience of going to Downing Street just after his arrival from Walmer. . . .

Mr. Gladstone received to-day Your Majesty's commands for copies of the Forms of Prayer prepared by the Archbishop, and despatched them to Sandringham.

He knows not how either to touch, or to leave untouched, the painful subject, which in the very streets seems to absorb the mind of every passer-by, and which is now pressing with such painful weight upon Your Majesty. It is heartrending to look back upon that picture of youth and health, and of vigour seemingly inexhaustible, which but a few weeks ago was before his eyes ; and to remember that singular combination of warmth and kindness with unaffected but unfailing dignity, which is now all laid low on the bed of sickness and suffering.

Mr. Gladstone will not mock the sorrow of this moment by assurances which even when sincere, must seem so poor and hollow ; but he earnestly commends the sufferer and all the afflicted round him, most of all the mother and the wife, to Him who alone is able either to heal or to console and who turns into mercies the darkest of all His dispensations.

396

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone

SANDRINGHAM. 13 December, 1871.

I fear the accounts to-night from the Sick room are worse. . . .

The Queen is very much gratified by the Universal feeling of sympathy expressed everywhere, but though much touched by it she says she will not say she is surprised for she was confident of the people's devotion to her especially in moments of affliction.

She very much feels any expression of sympathy just now and she is nervous, anxious and low. The terrible and singular coincidence of date¹ has perhaps naturally impressed her and made her nervous.

397 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

BRUTON STREET. 14 Dec. 1871.

. . . Mr. Gladstone writes this letter at 7, a few minutes after the arrival of the 5 o'clock telegram ; which continues and confirms the comparatively favourable accounts, which have given so much of comparative hope and comfort within the last twenty-four hours. He most earnestly hopes that the anticipations thus encouraged may not again be disappointed, and that Your Majesty and the Princess of Wales may be enabled to withstand the altogether extraordinary pressure arising from so much vicissitude, which has constituted a peculiar portion of the trial of this fearful period.

Lord Granville is better but the Cabinet has again met at his house.

398

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

SANDRINGHAM. 15 Dec. 1871.

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for several very kind letters. We have gone through fearful days of suspense & anxiety, but we have now reason to *hope* that the dear Prince will go on favourably—but we must not look upon him as *safe* yet for some days. The loyalty & sympathy of the whole Nation is most gratifying & if he recovers—it must surely be to become more & more valuable to the Country who have shown him such love.

¹ With the death of the Prince Consort, December 14, 1861.

The Queen has never heard from Mr. Gladstone on the subject of the new War Office wh^h *ought* to be begun.

She wrote strongly & urgently to him on the subject at Balmoral in Oct.

399 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 180.)

LONDON, Dec. 15. 1871.

. . . All here are rejoiced to think that yesterday, which was so deeply marked in Your Majesty's thoughts with the recollection of irreparable calamity,¹ should have been in the midst of this new trial a day of hope and comfort. The series of telegrams which have reported gradual improvement has now grown rather a long one, and it is impossible to repress the cheerful feeling which they inspire.

It still remains to desire that this feeling of hope and pleasure may not alter that temper of humble acknowledgment and trust, in which the nation has so earnestly sought by prayer for the Prince's recovery.

400 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

SANDRINGHAM. 17 December, 1871.

I am commanded by The Queen to ask you to consider whether some form of Thanksgiving should be prepared for the recovery of the Prince of Wales. I presume this would be settled in a Council in the same manner as the Prayer was decided on.

Her Majesty further desires me to ask you in what manner you think she could express her feelings of gratitude to the Nation for the touching and warm expressions of sympathy which have burst forth from every part of Her Majesty's Dominions.

P.S.—. . . May I mention that The Queen has been very much gratified at the way you and Mrs. Gladstone have expressed yourselves in writing to her.

401 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, 17 December 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . is rejoiced to receive Your Majesty's letter of yesterday, as a new testimony to the progress of the Prince and the relief of Your Majesty's mind.

¹ The anniversary of the Prince Consort's death.

Mr. Kingsley preached to-day at the Chapel Royal on the illness of the Prince of Wales. It was a most forcible and striking sermon, perhaps a little broad in its applications to Sanitary reform and otherwise.

Mr. Gladstone takes the opportunity of mentioning that as Mr. Duckworth took his present charge under circumstances of some difficulty—Mr. Gladstone attended the Church a few weeks ago. He found it crowded and he was much struck with Mr. Duckworth's manner and faculty of preaching.

Mr. Gladstone did not fail to communicate with Mr. Cardwell, at the time to which Your Majesty refers, about the War Office Buildings. He has since understood that the matter is in progress ; and Mr. Ayrton, whom he has seen to-day, confirms this understanding.

But Your Majesty is well aware of the difficulties and delays and disappointments, which attach to the execution of public works in this country : and a plan for a building of magnitude requires of necessity much time to prepare in a proper manner.

Should Your Majesty happily find the progress of the Prince of Wales such as to permit of your quitting Sandringham shortly Mr. Gladstone would request Your Majesty to be pleased to fix a day for the holding of the Council at which the further prorogation of Parliament will have to be declared. It is now proposed to make known to the public in a day or two the retirement as intimated of Mr. Denison from the Speakership ; and shortly afterwards the view of the Government as to the choice of a successor. They are of opinion that Mr. Brand should be chosen to the Chair.

402 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 17 Dec. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . has to acknowledge the letter addressed to him yesterday by Colonel Ponsonby under instruction from Your Majesty. He has obtained from the Council office a list of some precedents for forms of thanksgiving and he has also thought it might be well to ask for a list of Precedents, which he has not received of further acts of the same kind. He has also asked for information from Sandringham as to the probable interval which must elapse, with reference to the progress of the Prince's recovery, before it would be expedient to take any measure of a character which would assume its virtually complete accomplishment.

As Mr. Gladstone has not obtained all the needful information, and as the deliberations of the Cabinet have been extended until near post time, Mr. Gladstone proposes to postpone until to-morrow his reply to Your Majesty's gracious enquiry. He will however submit to Your Majesty at once his opinion that a Baronetcy might with propriety be offered to Dr. Gull in acknowledgment of his services. Mr. Gladstone is not well able to form an opinion whether the services of Dr. Lowe have been such as to deserve the bestowal of some honour.

403

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. 22 Dec. 1871.

The Queen has been thinking since Mr. Gladstone spoke to her of the Physicians *what* c^{ld} be done for Sir W^m Jenner & it has struck her that a civil C.B. w^{ld} be *vy appropriate*. Many Naval & Military *Inspectors* or *Doctors* have rec^d this & later the K.C.B.

Sir J. Clark rec^d the K.C.B.—about 3 years before he died.

The acc^t this m^s from Sandringham is not quite so favourable. More restlessness & wandering, & little sleep.

The Queen's plans must remain unsettled till there is more *real improvement*.

The Queen thinks it w^{ld} be most *unwise* to speak of *thanksgivings* at present.—

She hopes perhaps that he & Mrs. Gladstone may be able to come to Osborne before they settle in Town ?

404 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

HAGLEY. 22 Dec. 1871.

I have read with extreme interest your short memorandum stating the case as to the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Knollys's letter in which he treats it at length but in a succinct and very business like manner.

I should much wish Lord Granville to see these papers, if you think proper to send them : if you please, as at my suggestion.

With most of what Mr. Knollys says, I concur. It is hardly possible for the Prince to make a worthy pursuit out of philanthropy ; I do not mean one worthy in itself, but of adequate magnitude. What we want is not to supply him with the means of filling a certain number of hours : we should seek to give him

a central aim and purpose, which may, though without absorbing all his time, gradually mould his mind, and colour his life. It must be worthy not only of a man, but of *the* man who is Prince of Wales, and heir to the British Throne. Few men could do what Lord Shaftesbury has done in the nature of philanthropy. But Shaftesbury himself could not have done it, had he not had the means by a seat first in the Commons, and afterwards in the Lords, of giving a practical turn to his efforts, and impressing them with a character of responsibility which has, so to speak, bridled them, and checked a tendency to excess rarely separated, in the imperfection of human nature, from genuine enthusiasm. But I will not follow the details of the subject. I may say, however, that a sixth head might conceivably be added to your five. It is the social head. I am convinced that Society has suffered fearfully in moral tone from the absence of a pure Court. It was like Arthur's Round Table in its moral effect. It did not directly influence many, but it influenced the highest, those who most need it. This influence acted upon others, and so onwards in widening circles. It is a great and important question whether and how this want can be supplied.

I shall, though with difficulty, refrain from mentioning Knollys's letter to the Queen, until I know you have felt able to send it.

405 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAGLEY. Dec. 23. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, is much concerned to hear respecting the Prince of Wales the particulars mentioned by Your Majesty. He trusts however that these may be considered as among the incidents of vicissitude and fluctuation which, quite apart from relapse, are so apt to mark the course of recovery from illness of so fearful a character, and that they may not alter though they may retard the general process towards recovery.

Mr. Gladstone entirely enters into Your Majesty's idea respecting Sir W. Jenner, and has made a note of it, to be acted on at the proper time. He regrets to see statements in the newspapers respecting a grant of honours to Dr. Gull and Mr. Lowe, which however he regards as mere suggestions of the occasion.

As respects any form of thanksgiving, Mr. Gladstone would not propose to communicate with the Archbishop of Canterbury

except with due and strict reference to the proper stage of recovery, which it might even be presumptuous at the present moment to attempt in any measure to indicate.

The Cabinet will probably reassemble at some date between the 15th and 20th January, and Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone will hold themselves in readiness to obey Your Majesty's gracious commands. In the ordinary course Mrs. Gladstone would go to London about the 20th.

Your Majesty will not be sorry to learn that this house, the old house of Lady Lyttelton, still presents the picture of a very happy and united family.

406

*Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*WINDSOR CASTLE. *December 23. 1871.*

I am much obliged to you for allowing me to bring the subject before your notice and will certainly send Knollys's letter to Lord Granville.

I did not trouble you with my remarks on the question as I had not kept a copy of what I wrote for Knollys, but I was anxious if possible that the Prince of Wales should have appropriately placed himself at the head or in the ranks of the Sanitary Reformers. There will be fighting enough on the subject to give it a relish.

I pointed out that from a military point of view the Prince could never really command a brigade, except in an amateur fashion. For H.R.H., a general officer, to live all the year round at Aldershot would be absurd.

I could not explain myself at Sandringham about the Foreign Office despatches—which they tell me he himself was always anxious about. But from what I have seen of them they are not in ordinary times enough to give him real employment in commenting on them. And any further interference would of course be resented by the Foreign Secretary.

I see all the difficulties about Ireland but they do not seem to me to be insurmountable. I asked would the Prince go—they said he had certainly once said he would not—but they fully believed that if the Queen expressed a wish he should go, he would do so. Of course I mean that he should go in an official position with a responsible adviser. Nor do I see that his going

there as Viceroy—need in the least interfere with the proposal for a Royal Residence in Ireland.

I feel that I am not the proper person to have raised the question—but if no one will say anything, matters will run on in the old rut. . . .

407 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *December 24. 1871.*

I did not allude to your "sixth" last night as I wished to speak to Biddulph about it, as he had had some scheme for placing the Prince of Wales temporarily in Buckingham Palace where he would assume the lead of Society. Biddulph thinks that if even he did not live there he might give dinners there.

But this of course would be nothing unless he really took a lead. . . .

I quite agree with you that such a move is most desirable, but I do not think the Prince of Wales could succeed here.

The Queen could.

I am not well read in Arthurian legends, but does not Tennyson in his last description exhibit the monarch sitting alone at his round table?

408 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *26 Dec. 1871.*

The Queen sends the letter wh^{ch} it was agreed she w^{ld} write to Mr. Gladstone to be made public.

The acc^{ts} are *not* very satisfactory from Sandringham.

ENCLOSURE

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. *Dec. 26. 1871.*

The Queen is very anxious to express her deep sense of the touching sympathy of the whole Nation on the occasion of the alarming illness of her dear Son the Prince of Wales. The universal feeling shown by her people during those painful terrible days & the sympathy evinced by them with herself & her beloved daughter the Princess of Wales as well as the general joy at the improvement in the Prince of Wales's state have made a deep and lasting impression on her heart which can never be effaced. It

was indeed nothing new to her, for the Queen had met with the same sympathy when just 10 years ago a similar illness removed from her side the mainstay of her life, the best wisest and kindest of Husbands.

The Queen wishes to express at the same time on the part of the Princess of Wales her feelings of heartfelt gratitude for she has been as deeply touched as the Queen by the great and universal manifestation of loyalty and sympathy.

The Queen cannot conclude without expressing her hope that her faithful subjects will continue their prayers to God for the complete recovery of her dear Son to health & strength.

409 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 28 Dec. 1871.

Mr. Gladstone . . . has the honour to state that he has this morning received, and will at once forward to London for publication Your Majesty's letter of acknowledgment to the country in connection with the illness of the Prince of Wales, which appears to him to be admirably adapted for its purpose.

From Your Majesty's suggestion respecting Sir Wm. Jenner, Mr. Gladstone had assumed that the grant of a Companionship of the Bath would be acceptable; and it is to be borne in mind that that honour has a higher position under the rule which, subject to special exceptions, makes it the only avenue to the superior grades of the order. But Mr. Gladstone will take no further step in this matter until after further communication with Your Majesty. . . .

410 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[*Telegram*]

OSBORNE. 10 Jan. 1872.

. . . Would it suit you and Mrs. Gladstone to come here on Tuesday till Thursday.

411 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 10 Jan. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone . . . humbly states that Mr. Forster¹ has made known to him the terms of Your Majesty's gracious communication to him on Sunday last. Gathering therefrom that Your

¹ Vice-President of the Council.

Majesty might possibly feel some uneasiness on the subject, he thought it best at once to telegraph to Osborne in terms which though general were as he trusts sufficient, for their purpose.

Mr. Gladstone had at no time entertained an intention of pressing Your Majesty to open the Session next month; and perhaps it would have been hardly ingenuous to remain silent respecting such an intention if it had been entertained at the time when Your Majesty permitted him to state at length the considerations which appeared to him so strongly to recommend a public and solemn thanksgiving for the anticipated recovery of the Prince of Wales. A celebration of this kind was indeed inserted in Mr. Gladstone's mind with this among other comparative attractions, that it would dispense with all necessity for preferring any suit to Your Majesty respecting a mode of public acknowledgment which would at once (as he surmised) be more burdensome, and less appropriate and effectual.

He rejoices to find Your Majesty judges it to be proper, under the circumstances, that the public religious celebration should take place.

He trusts Your Majesty will also have arrived at the conclusion that, in conformity with unbroken usage St. Paul's should be the place. It is probable that a variety of questions of detail, which custom has settled for St. Paul's, would have to be reconsidered for the Abbey; that both the City Authorities and the inhabitants along the great Eastward line of route, would be less well satisfied; and it seems almost certain first that the means of view would be far inferior, and that the simple fact of the change would give rise to remark, and would invite speculation and criticism tending more or less to mar the grace of the proceeding.

Mr. Gladstone quite understands that an indefinite or very long postponement would be inadmissible, and that in consequence it must remain uncertain whether the Prince of Wales himself can take part, as without doubt he will be most desirous to do.

Mr. Gladstone thinks it will not be found difficult so to adjust all the questions of the time to be occupied and the particulars of the service in such a manner as to obviate any undue demand upon Your Majesty's strength, which all must be desirous to

spare at all times, but more especially after it has been subjected to so much of prolonged and searching trial.

It is most cheering to observe that the colour so to speak of the telegrams from Sandringham brightens so rapidly; and to hear of their anticipated cessation.

P.S.—Your Majesty will probably deem it requisite, that the intention to offer public thanksgiving should be announced to the World a short time hence so as to anticipate any speculation about the opening of Parliament.

412

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 13. 1872.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind letter.

She herself c^{ld} not think anyone w^{ld} expect her to undertake the Opening of Parlt this year—And while she unwillingly consents from her dislike to public religious displays—(her own growing inclination being more & more for the simplest form of worship) she is ready to go to St. Paul's on this occasion, health permitting for she feels she is never sure of herself. It ought not to be before the 25th or 26th of February, as she is anxious to have 6 full weeks here.—

The Prince of Wales is going on well but vy slowly—& is forbidden as yet to see anyone.—

The Queen herself has been suffering for 10 days from a cold & cough.

The Dean of Windsor was strongly of opinion that the Thanksgiving Service sh^{ld} not exceed $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour or $\frac{3}{4}$. The whole effect w^{ld} be spoilt by a long fatiguing Service.

413

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 18. 1872.

The Queen has looked at the Almanack again & finds that the best day for going to St. Paul's w^{ld} be *Tuesday 27th*.

She c^{ld} then come up to Town the day before. Her wish w^{ld} be to return to Windsor from here on the 21st or 22nd Feb. It w^{ld} be *inconvenient* for the Queen to have to come up so soon as the *end* of the *same week*—to Town—& she thinks also that for the P^{ce} & P^{cess} of Wales the latest date w^{ld} be the best. The Queen w^{ld} then hold a *Court* that same week *health permitting*.

The Queen wishes also to mention another circumstance w^h she hopes & thinks will cause no inconvenience. The Queen's dear Sister Poess Hohenlohe has been & alas ! is in vy bad health—for the last 4 years—so much so as to be unable to move or travel except for journeys w^h she takes whenever she feels able at the time to move. But she has been after repeated intentions to do so—obliged to give up all idea of coming again to England & it is now 6 years since we have been able to see each other ! She is the *only* vy near Relation besides her own Children & her Brother in law & Sister in law the Queen has left in this World—all her dear Uncles & Aunts & her only Brother are gone—& she feels it a duty as much as a g^t wish to see her once more—for her attacks of illness are of a nature to cause serious alarm.

What the Queen w^{ld} therefore propose to do—w^{ld} be to run across to *Baden* ! where her sister lives—at Easter when that Bathing place is quite deserted & where she c^{ld} get a private House, outside the Town she hears,—taking advantage of the Easter recess to do this.

The Queen *cannot* travel in the g^t heat of summer besides w^h the publicity of Baden in the summer & the dreadful heat there w^{ld} make it impossible.

The end of Nov.—w^{ld} be she feels—under the circumstances putting it off too long & not be pleasant. She w^{ld} propose to go incognita (at least assumedly so) as when she went to Switzerland.¹ The only inconvenience is Easter being so early.

The Queen w^{ld} prefer going on Easter Monday but then there *might* be an inconvenience on acc^t of Parlt meeting a week after, w^h if there were matters of importance might not do—tho the Queen w^{ld} not propose being away longer (*including* the journey there & back) than *under 3 weeks*. The other alternative w^{ld} be leaving on Monday or Tuesday in Passion week—but that w^{ld} be rather early for the Sea—being the 24th & 25th of March.

Still it may have to be done. The Queen has not mentioned this to a soul beyond her *own* Courier Kanne, till she has mentioned it to Mr. Gladstone. This excursion w^{ld} be *instead* of leaving here Easter for 3 weeks, & w^{ld} *interfere* with *nothing* else & not the least with the journey to Scotland in May w^h she feels she c^{ld} *not* give up for the sake of her health.

¹ In 1868.

414 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 185-6.)

OSBORNE. Jan. 18. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty. He sent to London yesterday evening with reference to the Council of to-day, a general form of announcement respecting the Thanksgiving at St. Paul's in the terms approved by Your Majesty, and he will now make inquiry in order to hear whether there is any difficulty in the way of appointing the 27th for the purpose.

Mr. Gladstone feels, and every one must feel, the force of the considerations which make Your Majesty so justly desirous of visiting the Princess Hohenlohe. Nevertheless he would humbly intreat Your Majesty to reserve for further consideration, the exact time for paying the visit. Three reasons to this effect appear to him to be of weight. First the vital importance of the next few months with reference to the determination of the Prince of Wales's future, and of Your Majesty's personal proximity in its bearing out this very momentous question. Secondly the likelihood that the Session of Parliament may be a rude one, from controversies of various kinds, and particularly on points connected with public Education, which profoundly touch the mind and feeling of the nation. Thirdly Mr. Gladstone is in a just view, apprehensive of the effect which might be produced on the public mind by Your Majesty's absence from the country during the very important portion of the Session of Parliament, even supposing it not to be marked by any feature peculiarly critical. Mr. Gladstone humbly submits these points to Your Majesty's wisdom and deliberation.

415 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Jan. 18. 1872.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind letter. She is fully aware of the possible troubles in Parlt.—but she thinks that (unless anything vy untoward occurred in foreign Relations) by leaving the *beginning* of the *Passion Week* & returning the *end* of the *Easter Week* or the vy 1st days of the one following it, she w^{ld} leave just before the adjournment or at the adjournment & be back almost *within a day* of the meeting again w^d obviate the difficulty.

As regards the P^{ce} of Wales too—she thinks *his* plans will be settled long before that.—

However the Queen will talk all this fully over with Mr. Gladstone when she sees him this afternoon & need not decide quite yet—Dr. Gull does not think the P^{ce} of Wales w^{ld} be fit to go to St. Pauls—nor that he himself w^{ld} wish it.—

The Queen w^{ld} willingly postpone her going abroad *till* the end of autumn or beginning of Winter but the days are so short & the Houses abroad are so bad & unwholesome with *stoves* that the Queen w^{ld} fear it for her health.

416 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Jan. 20. 1872.

The Queen cannot refrain from sending this letter from her poor dear Sister intended for no eyes but her own—w^h she rec^d this morn^g & w^h will prove how suffering her state is. If it sh^{ld} be entirely impossible for her to go at Easter, the Queen must try & go in the latter part of Nov.—but with the uncertainty of human affairs & with the experience of her last Summer & autumn—the Queen feels naturally anxious not to *delay* this visit.—

The regrets & self reproaches w^{ld} be terrible were anything to happen to her & she had not seen her again.

And for her own health she dare not undertake a long & rapid journey in the heat, nor break with her autumn stay in the Highlands w^h she will require more than ever this year.

417 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 21 Jan. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty and best thanks to Your Majesty returns the Princess Hohenlohe's letter.

It enables him yet more clearly to understand Your Majesty's sisterly desire, & he will be glad to watch for & promote an opportunity for giving it effect. This will be rendered more feasible by Your Majesty's intention (as Mr. Gladstone understands) to allow the subject to remain at present entirely secret.

418 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Jan. 22. 1872.

. . . With respect to St. Paul's—w^h is she *must repeat* MOST distasteful to her feelings (that is the *religious* part w^h was simply

& vy touchingly performed *last Sunday*)—she thinks no earlier day than the one she named w^{ld} suit; the P^{cess} of Wales w^{ld} then be able to appear as she herself says.

The Queen must insist however on certain conditions; 1st. that the Service sh^{ld} not exceed $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour &

2] that it sh^{ld} be simple & devoid of ostentatious pomp—utterly incompatible with so serious an act & quite unsuitable to the present day.

3] That the *same amount* of state & no other as was used on the occasion of the opening of Black Friars Bridge & the Viaduct than w^h nothing was ever more successful sh^{ld} again be kept:—viz: the streets all lined with Troops & the Queen & Royal family & suite in open Carriages—to enable the *people* (for *whom this is*) to see them in open Carriages & 4—her own with 6 horses. . . .

419

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 28. 1872.

The Queen forgot to say to Mr. Gladstone that she did not *much* like an actual announcement *in* the Speech of her going to St. Paul's. It gives *too much* weight to it; besides the difficulty in case it sh^{ld} have for any reason (w^h the Queen thinks most improbable) to be given up.—Also—the possibility of *her* being prevented from going by indisposition w^h she sincerely trusts will *not* be the case—but w^h is not so improbable as the other.—On the other hand she thinks both Mr. Gladstone & Ld Granville might announce the intention in both Houses—in a qualified manner.

420 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 29 Jan. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty, having had the honour to receive Your Majesty's letter of yesterday ventures to state the reasons which induce the Cabinet to advise a reference in the Speech from the Throne to the Thanksgiving at St. Paul's.

1. While total silence on the subject would have a very unsatisfactory effect, it would be contrary to usage that this intention to perform an important national act should be communicated only in the Speeches of Ministers, it having been

customary, as Mr. Gladstone learns, to send to the Houses a direct communication from the Sovereign.

2. The intention to perform this act would still remain dependent on the condition of practicability, especially as regards Your Majesty's health.

3. Some disappointment, the offspring of loyal feeling, will be experienced at the opening of Parliament under present circumstances only by Communication, and any such sentiment will be most effectually removed by the reference at that time and from the Throne to the solemnity at St. Paul's.

Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks Your Majesty will conceive that there is force in these considerations.

421 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Jan. 30. 1872.

The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter of yesterday.

She will not further object to the announcement in the Speech tho' she trusts it will be so worded as not to make it positive that she sh^{ld} attend if her health does not permit, tho' the Queen will do all she can to keep well—but she only *now* feels how terribly her nerves are shaken.

422 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*. (2) II, 187.)

DOWNING STREET. 30 Jan. 1872.

. . . But the chief and most anxious subject of their deliberations was the case which has been prepared and presented by the American Government on the subject of the Alabama Claims. Your Majesty's advisers cannot conceal from themselves that this document contains a mass of matter which is at once irrelevant and exasperating, and advances claims and pretensions such as it is wholly incompatible with national honour to admit, and to plead to before a Tribunal of Arbitration. The Cabinet have requested the aid of the Law officers and they will maturely consider the whole of this undoubtedly very grave and anxious matter before tendering any advice to Your Majesty.

423

Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 187-8.)

OSBORNE. *January 31, 1872.*

I am commanded by The Queen to assure you that Her Majesty fully participates in the anxiety felt by the Cabinet with respect to the Alabama Claims.

The Queen hopes that on reference to the Law Officers of the Crown it will be found that the Legal advisers of the British Commissioners have not allowed any great error to be made. But The Queen well understands that the Commissioners thought they were treating with gentlemen actuated by honourable feelings and did not suspect that a trap was being laid for them.

Her Majesty thinks it may be useful that you should know that Lord Derby of his own accord said to The Queen that he was indignant at the conduct of the Americans and that he considered the matter so serious that he would endeavour to do his best to help the Government on this question.

424 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 138.)

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 31 *Jan.* 1872.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and hastens to assure Your Majesty that in the judgment of his colleagues and his own Your Majesty's Commissioners have not fallen even into that kind of error which upright and honourable men may often without special caution commit in dealing with those who are less honourable and upright—Mr. Gladstone will not now trouble Your Majesty with details, but he regrets to say that several of the newspapers have written on this subject with singular short sightedness. Even bearing in mind the proceeding of Prince Gortchakoff in the Autumn of 1870, Mr. Gladstone is constrained to say that the conduct of the American Government in this affair is the most disreputable he has ever known in his recollection of diplomacy—Mr. Gladstone humbly thanks Your Majesty for the intimation conveyed through Colonel Ponsonby of the sentiments of Lord Derby, which are such as he fully expected.

425 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 3 Feb. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty regrets that not having received until 7 p.m. Your Majesty's box from Osborne he has been unable to refer to the Cabinet which broke up at 6 the language of the second paragraph of the speech in the form in which it is preferred by Your Majesty. The wording was however very carefully considered and he can offer to Your Majesty suggestions in which he thinks the Cabinet would concur. . . .

The Cabinet considered the question of a reference to Your Majesty's health, and were unequivocally of opinion that the use of the terms would be inexpedient in a public point of view. They knew, however, Your Majesty's wish that the announcement should not be positive, and they sought to attain this object by using the phrase "desire and intention," in which the use of the word "desire" qualifies the sense of the word "intention." They considered the form "desire and hope" and they thought the other phrase conveyed the meaning more advantageously. He does not think however that they perceived any broad difference between the two, and he would take upon himself to substitute *hope* for *intention* if Your Majesty wishes it, without calling them together tomorrow (Sunday) for this purpose, a step which he thinks would not be agreeable to Your Majesty.

426

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. 4 Feb. 1872.

The Queen has telegraphed relative to the Paragraph in the Speech & she thinks her proposal w^{ld} meet the wishes of the Govt as well as her own.—She must repeat that she wishes both Mr. Gladstone & Ld Granville to allude, as she suggested in her letter of yesterday to her own *severe* illness w^h seems to be entirely forgotten & to say what she mentioned as to her *wish* to do what was in her power—tho' less fit for it even than before her illness.—The Queen w^{ld} *not* have repeated this today but that Mr. Gladstone has not replied to that part of her letter—& as she suffered for *years* from *misapprehension* on the subject, & finally broke down chiefly from worry & annoyance she demands that from her Ministers w^h she has a right to expect.

427

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 5. 1872.

. . . The Queen did not wish any allusion to her illness in the Speech beyond what she still thinks it w^{ld} have been well to insert—tho' the word "hope" will to a gt extent imply this—but *what* she wishes Mr. Gladstone & Ld Granville to express—was her hope to be able to attend the Thanksgiving, tho' she was still feeling the results of her long & severe illness followed by the P^{ce} of Wales's—& that she was, *as she* had ALWAYS *been* most anxious to do *whatever* her *health & strength* admitted of—without impairing both by doing what w^{ld} inevitably disable her from performing her other far more important & never ceasing duties for the welfare of the State.

428 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 189-90.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 7 Feb. 1872.

. . . Notice has been given in both Houses of motions conveying a censure of the appointment of Sir R. Collier.¹ The charge of evading an act of Parliament is one of the heaviest, short of treason, that can be brought against a minister. No man of honour could consent unless under circumstances the most special, either to retain office, or to hold a seat, in a House of Commons which had found him guilty of such a charge. It does not at present seem probable that the motion will be carried in the House of Commons even if it be made in terms such as those which have been used by the Lord Chief Justice and by Lord Derby in speaking of it.

Perhaps some motion short of this but meant to inflict a wound may be carried in the House of Lords. Should this happen, it may place the Lord Chancellor in the first place, Mr. Gladstone in the second as jointly responsible with him, and the Government itself possibly though less concerned in a position of some embarrassment taking into view the national gravity of the present crisis.

Mr. Gladstone has been extremely gratified by Your Majesty's

¹ Objection was taken to the appointment of Sir R. Collier, Attorney-General, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council without previous service on the Bench.

gracious telegram of this morning, for he has no livelier pleasure than to learn that any humble effort of his in the discharge of his duty has met with Your Majesty's condescending approval.

429 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Feb. 11. 1872.

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for his reports of the House of Commons & of the Cabinet.

She trusts the motion respecting Sir R. Collier may pass off satisfactorily in the House of Commons. It is vy unfortunate and this American business is most annoying. . . .

430 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. 15 Feb. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to Your Majesty that he mentioned this day to the Cabinet Your Majesty's enquiry as to the opinion entertained about the route from St. Paul's on the 27th. The Cabinet thought and Mr. Bruce¹ undertook to convey their opinion at once by telegraph, that the Oxford Street route for the return would be greatly preferable to the Embankment, on account of the superior facilities which would be afforded to the population of London and thus the more effective fulfilment of the original purpose of Your Majesty in appointing the thanksgiving. . . .

431 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Feb. 19. 1872.

. . . The Queen has had to make all the arrangements for her *incognita*, vy short trip to Baden, as her Courier Kanne said *not one hour* must be lost, or the Queen's *safety* c^{ld} not be *secured*—She has kept it still as secret as long as she can & will do so still, but it will be impossible to do so much longer—as the Queen w^{ld} have to start on the 25th or 28th—meanwhile in order to be back by the beginning of the week *after* Easter week. She w^{ld} wish to go straight thro' France stopping *nowhere*—& thus avoiding the fatigue of any Visitors on the road—w^h w^{ld} be difficult in going the other way.

Besides that the quiet embarkation at Portsmouth & quiet

¹ Home Secretary.

disembarkation in the Dockyard at Cherbourg w^{ld} save gt fatigue to herself & prevent all *delay* from *fogs* in the rivers—Thames & Scheldt. She went that way in '68 to Lucerne.

The Queen concludes that there c^{ld} be *no political* objection or personal risk in going *thro' France* ?

432 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 20 February, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to say that he gathers it to be Your Majesty's intention to restrict the time occupied in the visit to Baden to about a fortnight. Under these circumstances and viewing Your Majesty's anxiety to make arrangements on the subject, although he would have been able to speak with more confidence at a somewhat later time, when it would have been practicable to collect the opinion of the House as to their Easter recess, he hopes there will be no difficulty in the way of Your Majesty's plans. He writes this under the belief that there are precedents for Your Majesty's leaving the country during the sitting of Parliament.

If there were not, he would think it desirable to have the opinion of the Cabinet. Lord Granville would humbly offer himself to accompany Your Majesty in the manner described, should the state of the Alabama question permit him to be absent from the Foreign Office.

433 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 22. 1872.

The Queen is looking with much alarm to the Ceremony of the 27th—the fatigue & excitement of w^h she fears will be vy great & she has been g^{ty} annoyed at the constant new suggestions w^h are being made.—It is as tho' it was to be *merely a show* !—

The Queen thinks it very doubtful whether the P^{ce} of Wales will be able to undergo the fatigue, for he is suffering from his leg, —& Sir J. Paget & the Physicians have ordered *complete rest*.—

They must decide on Sunday *whether* it will be *safe* to allow him to undergo the fatigue of the vy long Drive &c—not to speak of the excitement.

The P^{cess} w^{ld} certainly come & go with the Queen.

434 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 23 Feb. 1872.

. . . Mr. Gladstone is more concerned than surprised to hear that it is doubtful whether the Prince of Wales can safely take part in the Thanksgiving. There is no doubt that his absence would be much felt and deplored, but all will prefer it to his running a risk. Mr. Gladstone, however, earnestly hopes that the report of the medical men may prove favourable. He also hopes that Your Majesty will not suffer from fatigue on the occasion ; although it must be admitted that exuberant loyalty and affection may now as heretofore entail certain burdens, and may also be attended with some risk of reaction upon encountering any disappointment.

435 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. 28 Feb. 1872.

The Queen intends to write a few Lines wh Mr. Gladstone can again have published in the papers expressive of her vy gt satisfaction at the most enthusiastic & really touching reception she & her Children met with from the millions who were out yesterday.

She naturally feels tired & her head aches but the pleasing & gratifying recollection of yesterday makes up for that & so it does to the Prince of Wales who however suffers much from his leg today.

P.S.—Of course the Ld Mayor will be made a Baronet & the Sheriffs be knighted.

436 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 28 Feb. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and congratulates Your Majesty very sincerely on the extraordinary manifestation of loyalty and affection in the celebration of yesterday. He trusts Your Majesty did not undergo excessive fatigue ; and the entire public will be anxious to know that the Prince of Wales has suffered no real injury from that anxiety to share in the act of Thanksgiving, which is very highly appreciated.

437

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. Feb. 29. 1872.

The Queen is anxious, as on a previous occasion, to express publicly her *own* personal *very deep* sense of the reception she & her dear Children met with on Tuesday Feb: 27th from millions of her subjects—on her way to & from St. Paul's. Words are too weak for the Queen to say how very deeply touched & gratified she has been by the immense enthusiasm & affection exhibited towards her dear Son & herself from the highest down to the lowest—on the long progress thro' the Capital & she wd earnestly wish to convey her warmest & most heartfelt thanks to the whole Nation for this great demonstration of loyalty.

The Queen as well as her Son & dear daughter-in-law, felt that the whole Nation joined with them in thanking God for sparing the beloved Prince of Wales's life.

The remembrance of this day & of the remarkable order maintained throughout,—will for ever be affectionately remembered by the Queen & her family.

438 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 29 Feb.—1 March, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that this the main business appointed to be taken by the House of Commons was the stage of Committee on the Secret Voting Bill. A discussion on a preliminary motion was proceeding when Colonel Hardinge came to the House with the communication which Your Majesty graciously sent to Mr. Gladstone respecting the wild and perhaps mad attempt¹ which had perhaps just been made, happily in vain, either to injure, or intimidate Your Majesty. Nothing could be more timely than his arrival, for exaggerated and painful rumours were beginning to circulate thickly.

With the full permission of the Speaker, Mr. Gladstone interposed in the debate for the purpose of giving to the House the best account in his power of what he had just heard. He was heard with rapt attention and the House evidently experienced an intense feeling of relief.

Mr. Gladstone has not heard anything of the depositions taken by the Police. Folly seems to have been so mixed with depravity

¹ O'Connor's attempt on the Queen.

in this attempt that Mr. Gladstone is inclined to hope this young man may perhaps not have been wholly master of his senses. At the same time it will be well if the case be brought within summary punishment under the existing law. If he cannot, it may be right to consider whether the law cannot be further amended to meet such cases, out of which, even when the action is itself contemptible, mischief may nevertheless arise. . . .

439 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

WINDSOR CASTLE. 1 March, 1872.

I am anxious to hear the final result of the examination of O'Connor please desire it to be telegraphed Let all details respecting the man be fully communicated by letter.

440 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. March 1. 1872.

The Queen searched her Journal on arriving here & found the acc^t of the last *attempt* but one (w^h was Pate's, who inflicted a severe blow on her head) w^h *no one* seems to recollect & she has had a Copy of the acc^t made, w^h she sends,—& w^{ld} ask to have back when done with. He was also an Irishman but *Fenianism* did *not exist* then.

The Queen feels sure that *too gt leniency* or treating it as totally contemptible w^{ld} *not* do—& if the Act is *not* strong enough it had better be amended.

Tho' this poor wretch did not mean to *kill*, he meant to *frighten* & *this may* be tried again & again & end badly some day—for certainly there never was a more daring proceeding.—The Queen had a perfect ovation driving to the Station this ev^g.

441 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. 2 March, 1872.

. . . The question of the licence now demanded by the Australian Colonies to regulate their Tariffs with the absolute discretion of independent Powers, and of the bearing of such freedom, in its exercise, upon subsisting Treaties, was considered with much length, and measures taken for its further investigation. It involves questions of considerable difficulty. . . .

442 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 7 *March*. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty submits to Your Majesty a letter from 'Mr. Bruce' with respect to the proper mode of treating O'Connor, which he thinks properly sets forth the case. He hopes it may meet Your Majesty's approval. Meantime he is in communication with Mr. Bruce to insure (what however he has no reason to doubt) the sufficiency of present precautions for Your Majesty's personal safety.

443 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *March* 8. 1872.

The Queen commands me to call your attention to the report of the doctor's interview with O'Connor that has been published in the *Lancet*, which, Her Majesty thinks shows that he was not mad, and that he had more serious intentions than simply frightening her.

444 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *March* 8. 1872.

I have recently had opportunities of learning more on the subject of the Prince of Wales' occupation.

I believe that The Queen is strongly opposed to his going to Ireland as Viceroy or Deputy.

She says that to send him to Ireland in such a position deprived of all political power would certainly not encourage him in habits of business, for all business would be forbidden except that of giving balls, dinners, etc.

If he took any political part he must become the head of some party, for in Ireland no man, especially in such a position, would be allowed to be neutral.

The Queen would I imagine certainly not wish him to go except on a visit.

The Prince dislikes visiting Ireland and taking the second place to the Viceroy. I do not know whether it would be possible, or desirable to give him, when there, precedence over the Viceroy?

But I find that the Prince is even more opposed than The Queen to going in any official capacity to Ireland, and nothing but the

¹ Home Secretary.

most urgently expressed wish from The Queen would induce him to go.

I enquired whether the Prince himself had ever expressed any opinion on the subject and am informed that he has. That he is anxious for employment. That he thinks the day may come when he will have to communicate with every department of the State. At present he feels himself lamentably ignorant of the working of any department. What he therefore desires is that he may be successively attached to each of the great public offices where he would learn the habits of business in general and the work of the Department in particular. . . .

445 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

10, DOWNING STREET. 9 March, 1872.

Many thanks for your letter of the 8th on the case of the Prince of Wales. It affords further matter for grave consideration. I quite agree with you as to the time, within which this weighty matter will have to be brought to an issue. May it prosper.

446 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Sir Thomas Biddulph*¹

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 15 March, 1872.

I should be very glad to find myself in a condition to offer a suitable appointment to Mr. Engleheart.* But I do not know whether I shall or shall not have an appointment to make to the Charities Commissioner; and if the opportunity is afforded me, I really do not see how I could pass by the claims of my private secretary, Mr. West, who for near three and a half years has afforded me aid in that capacity by labour so beneficial to me, and so onerous to him as to constitute a claim of the highest order on me.

Perhaps I ought to add that from December 1868, I have had just *one* appointment in what may be called my free gift—it was the Receivership of Inland Revenue, given to Lord A. Hervey.

447 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. 17 March. 1872.

. . . She cannot read his remarks on the disposition evinced by the House of Commons to usurp the authority heretofore exercised

¹ Keeper of the Privy Purse.

* Sir T. Biddulph had written by command of the Queen to remind Mr. Gladstone that Mr. Engleheart was still without employment: cf. 169, 171, 463.

by the Crown in making & ratifying Treaties with Foreign Powers without much apprehension, that sh^{ld} they succeed in establishing their power in these matters, very great injury will result to the Country & she trusts that Mr. Gladstone is fully alive to the importance of the subject.—

The Queen cannot imagine any power in the hands of a popular assembly more calculated to paralyze the authority of the Foreign Minister & of the Cabinet, by depriving them of responsibility & of freedom of action, to say nothing of the delay w^h w^{ld} be created, & the uncertainty w^h w^{ld} prevail.—Should the House of Commons establish this principle, the Queen is strongly of opinion that the difficulty of bringing a delicate negotiation to a successful issue, such as the dispute between this country & the United States w^{ld} be increased tenfold & that the maintenance of peaceful Relations with Foreign States constantly w^{ld} be endangered.

448 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 202-3.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 19-20 March, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports that in the telegram from the House of Commons he conveyed to Your Majesty this evening the result of Sir C. Dilke's motion¹ and the general feeling of the House. In truth nothing could be more satisfactory either than the division, or than the temper which prevailed with reference to the subject.

Nevertheless, unfortunate circumstances intervened which will tend to mar the good done.

The House received Sir C. Dilke ill on his rising but heard him through a speech of an hour and three-quarters, much of it very dull, with an exemplary patience—Mr. Gladstone followed and spoke as he believes between thirty-five and forty minutes.

The House was eager for a division ; and the minority had had by far the larger share of the debate.

In this state of things Mr. Auberon Herbert, a very young member, rose to continue the debate with a mass of papers and declared he should persevere whatever might be the desire of the House. This created general annoyance and strong dissatisfaction, which broke out, on the opposition side particularly, into a perfect storm, which the Speaker in vain essayed to quell. Several efforts

¹ As to the Civil List.

were made to count out the House. Large numbers rose and left the House in a marked manner. At length a member imprudently caused the reporters to be excluded. The provocation was considerable, but there was a want of self command and it is to be feared that the exclusion of reporters, though it was generally disapproved, will be construed outside as a proof of a disposition to stifle free discussion. Mr. Gladstone has thus described the scene as well as he could : it is probable that more may be said of it. He certainly has never seen a more gratuitous, deliberate and provoking attempt, and determination of an inexperienced member to set at nought what may be called the unanimous desire of the House.

Mr. Gladstone left the house at ten after the division, not being quite well.

449 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *March 23, 1872.*

The Queen is sorry to hear Mr. Gladstone is ill.

She is not sure whether Sir Thomas Biddulph has expressed her satisfaction at the debate on Sir C. Dilke's motion & especially at Mr. Gladstone's Speech.

She therefore does so now.—Tho' the Scene was rather unseemly in some ways—the feeling shown in the House was most satisfactory. . . .

450 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

[Telegram]

[*March 23, 1872.*]

. . . It would be most inexpedient that the Prince of Wales should attend Roman Catholic ceremonies¹ with a suite or as a personage but he could hardly be debarred from attending as a private person like other travellers and for this probably ample facilities would be given.

451 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *March 23, 1872.*

. . . The Queen was much pleased at your agreeing with her in thinking that the Prince of Wales should not attend the ceremonies in Holy Week.

¹ The Prince of Wales was in Rome.

Of course if he goes privately it cannot be prevented and it is only to be hoped he will take care not to have it published.

The Prince Consort was always much opposed to his attending these ceremonies. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. April 11. 1872.

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for several letters.—Her journey & stay at Baden were carried out with facility & satisfaction to herself—enabling her to see her dear Sister quietly & daily—and being able to go about everywhere in perfect privacy. But she is very tired from the Journey & seeing Visitors at Baden, tho' she refused almost all but her 2 sons in law the P^{ce} & P^{cess} of Baden and 2 or 3 people who were living next door to her. The Queen must therefore take as much rest for the next 10–12 days as she can.

The Queen's object in writing to Mr. Gladstone today is to express her surprise & annoyance at the *extreme leniency* of O'Connor's Sentence (wh she has just learnt) especially as regards the length of imprisonment, & to remind Mr. Gladstone of his having said to her that if there was not *sufficient protection* from the Law, as it stood at present it must be amended.

Now—to let this deluded youth out again, in a year, when he has himself only the *other day avowed*, that he w^{ld} not have minded if he had been torn to pieces, if he had obtained the release of the Prisoners, is *most dangerous*.

The fright caused by the attempt, the Queen felt for long afterwards & it *might* have been a worse effect for fright is often very dangerous.

The Queen is more unprotected in *some ways* than any of her subjects as she is a mark to shoot at, & attack from her *position*.

Her safety & her peace of mind will be in *constant danger* & constantly *disturbed*—thereby making it *almost impossible* for her to go about in public,—or at all in London, if she has no security that such miscreants will NOT be allowed to go about in this country—ready at any moment to alarm & insult her again. And the Queen *does demand* from the Govt that protection wh as a Queen & as a Woman she feels she has a *right to expect*.—It ought to be in the Power of the law to have such a man sent

out of the country & not to allow him to return except *under surveillance*.

The effect of this short imprisonment will be *very bad*—both *abroad & at home*.

453 (Copy) Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

[Telegram]

April 11. 1872. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ p.m.

Telegram received at nine fifteen letter ten thirty I entirely agree in Your Majesty's sentiments as to what has occurred will write about it more fully.

454 (Copy) Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria

HOUSE OF COMMONS. April 11-12. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to Your Majesty that having received Your Majesty's telegram and letter of this evening, he has briefly stated in a telegram immediately sent off to Your Majesty his concurrence in the sentiment of surprise and annoyance which the sentence on the misguided youth O'Connor has excited in Your Majesty's mind.

Mr. Gladstone has communicated with Mr. Bruce¹ and the Attorney General² as to what has occurred, and as to the best mode of meeting it. He encloses a letter which the Attorney General has addressed to him. The two circumstances of the case which are satisfactory as far as they go, are these ; that the crime was committed without accomplices and, that the youth sincerely laments and repents of it. But they are satisfactory only as far as they go ; and both Mr. Bruce and the Attorney General are of opinion that the conduct of the judge in the case is to be alike regretted and condemned. The sorrow of the person who has committed a crime is allowed and even required to be taken into view when the immediate purpose is to estimate the amount of his moral delinquency. But the judge sits as the guardian of the public safety, and the safety of the public from the evil attraction of a bad example is not in the smallest degree guaranteed by the repentance of the particular delinquent. This principle applies with no diminution, but if anything with an enhancement of force, when the object of the crime has been the person of the Sovereign. It can hardly be said that there has been any failure of the law, which permits

¹ Home Secretary.

² Sir John Coleridge.

a sentence either of penal servitude for seven years, or of three years' imprisonment with three whippings. There might be nothing unreasonable in banishing these delinquents for life ; but no case for this alteration of the law is established by the error, however gross it may be of a Judge.

In the present case it appears that much mischief resulted from the gratuitous intervention of Dr. Tuke ; but the weak observations of the Judge show that he wholly mistook his duty.

The question for Your Majesty's servants to consider, at least in the first instance, will be how to make the best of the existing circumstances. There could of course be no difficulty in providing that at the expiration of the sentence the eye of the police should continue to rest upon O'Connor. But it may be found practicable, even under present circumstances, to do what will be far preferable, namely by commutation, and voluntary inducement to get him out of the country for good. This arrangement would probably be the one most satisfactory to Your Majesty under the circumstances and Mr. Gladstone feels himself safe in saying that the Government will be most desirous to give effect to any wishes which Your Majesty is likely to entertain upon the subject.

Mr. Gladstone most sincerely regrets that this painful matter should have brought to Your Majesty's mind any new cause for anxiety or annoyance.

He finds that the Attorney General's letter, to which he made a reference above, has been sent by Mr. Bruce to Colonel Ponsonby for Your Majesty's information. There is but one opinion among the ministers present in the House of Commons about the absurd proceedings of the Judge. . . .

455

*Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*WINDSOR CASTLE. *April 12. 1872.*

The Queen commands me to return you many thanks for your letter with which Her Majesty was much pleased.

I told her that you had spoken very earnestly to me about the singular leniency of the sentence and the illjudged charge of Baron Cleasby.

I added that you had said you agreed with The Queen in thinking it would be desirable to obtain some power of expatriating

such criminals, though possibly this was not an opportune moment for mootng the question.

Her Majesty said she had no wish to increase the pain of the punishment but hoped that you would in course of time consider whether the Law might be amended in the above sense.

456 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. 13 April. 1872.

. . . He may mention however in the first instance that he mentioned to his colleagues collectively the sentiments expressed by Your Majesty in relation to the sentence on O'Connor, and that he found their opinion to be the same as his own. The Cabinet are astonished at the sentence and at the judge's charge. They think the change in the law mentioned by Your Majesty should an opportunity occur when it might be obtained with facility would be well worthy of consideration. They are glad to find Colonel Henderson reports that there will probably be little difficulty in arranging for O'Connor's permanent removal from the country. . . .

457 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. 18 April. 1872.

. . . The Queen was unfortunately too unwell to go to dinner yesterday & therefore missed the Ld Chancellor,¹ & w^{ld} therefore ask Mr. Gladstone to call his attention to the conduct of Judge Cleasby who behaved so badly on the occasion of O'Connor—on a recent occasion when he sentenced a man who pushed his wife under a Dray Cart w^h she died from—only to 3 months' imprisonment, while for some trumpery theft another was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. Surely this cannot go on if justice is to exist at all, & if people are to hope for protection !

It becomes alarming & something ought to be done if possible.

458 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. April 18-19. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acknowledges Your Majesty's letter respecting the vagaries of Baron Cleasby which he has sent to the Lord Chancellor. Mr. Gladstone believes that

¹ Lord Hatherley.

probably more can be done to repress these strange aberrations through the animadversions of the press than in any other way, though he is sure the Lord Chancellor will be anxious to speak to this judge in a friendly way if he finds it feasible. This last error is more gross than the former one, though less fraught with public danger. . . .

459 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET, 20 April, 1872.

. . . Mr. Gladstone tenders his humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gift of the beautiful medal in commemoration of the marriage of the Princess Louise to Lord Lorne which he has received through Sir T. Biddulph. . . .

460 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. April 25. 1872.

The Queen thinks Lord Lansdowne's a very good appt.¹

She sends to Mr. Gladstone a M^m on the subject of the 2 youngest children of poor Sir Richard Mayne who have just had the misfortune of losing their mother on whom they depended for support.

The Queen hopes that Mr. Gladstone may be able to give the daughter a portion—if not the whole of her pension granted to her mother.

461 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. May 8. 1872.

The Queen begs you will do what you think best about returning to London on Saturday night, but Her Majesty hopes you will not be prevented from coming to dinner as she wishes you to see The Empress of Germany.

462 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. May 11. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone has the honour with his humble duty to acknowledge Your Majesty's letter of this morning. No weighty consideration of public advantage requires the offer of the Duchy² to the Duke of Somerset. In willing and cheerful deference therefore to

¹ As Under-Secretary of State for War.

² The post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Your Majesty's wish Mr. Gladstone abandons the idea. He now thinks, though without much hope of a practical result, of ascertaining the inclinations of Sir George Grey,¹ whose accession to office he is confident Your Majesty would view with pleasure.

Mr. Gladstone presumes to congratulate Your Majesty on the excellent aspect which the American negotiations² have again assumed as Your Majesty will learn more particularly from Lord Granville.

463 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 14 May, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and transmits herewith the letter of Lord Portman which he has already mentioned. He has made known to Lord Portman that the Secretaryship has been filled up by the appointment of Mr. Engleheart.³ . . .

464 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 206.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 16 May, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and though he was anxious not to decline a gracious offer⁴ from Your Majesty without full and special consideration, feels that he would not be warranted in withholding any longer his reply.

With the renewed expression of his gratitude for a favour to which he had no claim, and with a full appreciation of the many and special advantages of the residence at Blackheath, which he well remembers, he asks nevertheless to be permitted not to accept Your Majesty's kindness; for reasons purely domestic and personal to himself, with which it is quite unnecessary to trouble Your Majesty.

465 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 210-11.)

BALMORAL. May 29. 1872.

. . . There appears to be no probability that alterations proposed by the Cabinet in the Amendments of the Senate will be

¹ Home Secretary, 1846-52, 1855-8, 1861-5.

² As to the *Alabama* claims.

³ Cf. 170, 172, 447.

⁴ Of a permanent residence at Blackheath in his own constituency of Greenwich.

accepted by the United States, so that an entire failure of the negociation seems to be imminent.

Will not such a failure now, produce great irritation in the United States?—The *responsibility* of breaking off the negotiations *now & destroying* the Treaty of last year, is VERY SERIOUS.

If further time is required, w^{ld} it be possible to obtain the consent of the United States Govt. to an adjournment of the Meeting of the Arbitration¹?

466 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 211.)

[Telegram]

May 30. 1872. 12.35 p.m.

We have been careful to avoid the appearance of an ultimatum, or doing anything which might tend to rupture, and we have indicated distinctly our willingness to take more time.

467 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

BALMORAL. 15 June, 1872.

I am very anxious about the news today & hope you will let me hear as soon as you can.

468 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. June 17. 1872.

. . . The Queen has been extremely anxious for news these last few days and the alternations of hope and despair about the Treaty as told in each successive telegram have much excited her. The total result is (I trust I am justified in assuming) very favourable. . . .

469 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 220-1.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 29th June, 1872.

. . . A debate of some spirit then arose upon the general character of the Lords' amendments,¹ and the disposition of the country with respect to secret voting. Mr. Disraeli contended that there was no public desire for it, and that the amendments made the bill comprehensive and consistent. In replying to Mr. Disraeli

¹ The *Alabama* claims were under arbitration at Geneva.

² Of the Ballot Bill.

on the subject Mr. Gladstone took an opportunity which was offered him, of acknowledging the signal prudence of Mr. Disraeli during the anxious period of the Controversy with the United States and the value of the example he had set. . . .

470 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 5 *July*, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone humbly conceives it to be Your Majesty's desire, with reference both to the present and the future, that means should be found for supplying His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with employment of a nature suited to his high position and yet higher prospects.

To attain this end effectually, casual and desultory occupation, wholly disconnected from practical results, could hardly be sufficient. It would be wanting in the conditions of sustained interest and would tend to become mere trouble. Something of a plan appears to be indispensably requisite ; something which without any violent wrench, would cover the circle of the Prince's life, and enable him to increase its dignity and manliness. The great bulk of mankind have occupation found for, or even forced upon them ; when it is not thus furnished, and ready to hand, but has to be created as a voluntary work, few, in any rank of life prove equal to the task of devising it for themselves, and the difficulty of such a task increases with each ascending step of station in the social scale.

Mr. Gladstone has long and anxiously considered what can be done to meet the necessity of the case (an evergrowing necessity), the special call evidently supplied by the appalling illness of 1871, and the desire which the Prince himself honourably entertains.

He has endeavoured, as far as within the limits of his duty he could endeavour, to add to his own lights, such as they are, the light of others on the general subject. He thinks himself well founded in the opinion that any suggestion of employments which are to be worthy of the purpose in view, should unite the conditions of dignity, usefulness, interest, and system ; while they should be such as would fall in naturally with the circumstances of the time, and the regular development of the Prince's manly life, and such also as would not tend to derange any established order.

Mr. Gladstone must at once confess, that he is not aware of any single measure, by which all these necessary conditions could be

realised. But by a combination of measures he hopes they might be attained, and he will now endeavour to glean (so to speak) from the field of public administration what it may be capable of yielding by way of contribution towards the end in view.

Of the Departments of State, it is obvious to turn first to the Foreign Office which could submit for the Prince's perusal, with some approach to continuity, a selection of the interesting and important despatches which it constantly receives and sends. But they could not always have the attraction of freshness, as the submission must evidently be a separate one from that made to Your Majesty and as from the necessity of the case, they would thus be sent for information only, they could hardly be thought to supply of themselves that which is most essential in any system of employment, and they could only form one of its secondary items.

In like manner it is probable that the office for the administration of Indian affairs, might especially with reference to the large military element which they involve, supply another source of interesting and important information. Possibly another step might here be gained : since it would at least, if desired, be matter for Consideration, whether arrangements could be made for the presence of His Royal Highness at the deliberations of the Council of India on suitable and chosen occasions.

Between His Royal Highness and the War Department it would be difficult to establish any special relation without running the risk of grave inconveniences. But the Military Manœuvres of the Autumn seem to afford a valuable, and if they are continued, a regular and periodical opportunity both of worthy employment for the Prince, and of maintaining a relation between His Royal Highness and the officers and men of the Army, which would be productive of much personal and much public utility.

The fostering care of Art and Science, and the promotion of philanthropic designs, are not to be lightly estimated. But to all that has thus far been said, and to anything that might in the like kind be added, this character appears clearly to attack ; that, however good as far as it goes, it does not meet the case in full. It does not form a plan of life. It does not lay a firm or adequate foundation for habits of business. It does not supply the materials for forming a sense of responsibility.

Political responsibility cannot indeed be made applicable to the Heir Apparent, in the sense in which it applies to Ministers,

and signifies a liability to consequences from without. But no one can know so well as Your Majesty that the mental habit and moral sense of responsibility may be acquired through attentive practice in business, without any reference at all to a reflected apprehension of consequences. And this it is which, alone or chiefly, gives both dignity and living interest to the pursuit of public occupations. Your Majesty's relations to the daily and ordinary course of public business (apart from the ultimate and higher rights which belong to the Sovereign alone and cannot find any analogy elsewhere), exhibits a model which if it can be reproduced upon a proportionate and smaller scale, appears to supply suggestions suitable for the case of the Prince of Wales. Is it then practicable by pursuing this line of thought, to discover that which if added to such fragmentary heads of occupation as have been already mentioned, could furnish for the Prince a centre and base of life, round and upon which the whole might be grouped?

It does not seem that the administrative Government as it is carried on in London, would furnish what thus appears to be lacking. In Scotland, there is no regular centre of administration.

No person would dream of proposing for the Heir Apparent public occupation, beyond the limits of the United Kingdom. The question then remains whether the bestowal of a portion of his time and care in Ireland could be made to yield the result which is the object of the present search. Ireland has a centralised administration of its own, carried on by the Viceroy, with the assistance of the Chief Secretary. There is therefore the material, with which to work. But it could not be made available without a great change in the Government of Ireland; for no member of the Royal Family perhaps, and certainly not the Prince of Wales, could exercise the Vice Royalty charged as it is now with political responsibility, and again this responsibility ought not to be made available, if by so doing any undue preference were to be manifested for Ireland over other portions of the United Kingdom.

Now there are two facts, both of great weight, which come into view at this point of the enquiry. First, that an overwhelming weight of authority recommends the abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy as it is now constituted. The Duke of Wellington may alone, or almost alone, be cited on the opposite side; but his

objection seems to have been founded on the recollection of other times, when the maintenance of executive authority in Ireland was attended with difficulty, and with uncertainties which have now been in a great degree overcome. The other fact is that, with an equal unanimity, those who have had to consider the subject have been of opinion that provision ought to be made for strengthening the personal connection of the Sovereign or of the Royal Family with Ireland by means of residence.

With regard to the latter of these facts, it has frequently been suggested that Parliament might be asked to vote a sum annually for the maintenance of a Residence in Ireland, which might be the subject of occasional resort, for short periods, say in each year, by members of the Royal Family.

This plan has to some extent been discussed, at a former period in the Cabinet : and with the effect, so far as Mr. Gladstone has perceived, of showing that it is attended with very considerable difficulties ; as to the part of Ireland to be chosen, and its relation to the Capital ; as to the relations proper to be maintained officially between a Prince of the Blood Royal and the Queen's Representative ; as to the division of Labour, so to speak, by which it would have to be made sure that the Residence when once provided would be adequately used ; and as to the uneasiness and discontent of Parliament, aroused and stimulated by a Vote from year to year, in case any part of the machinery should fail to work smoothly.

All these matters were felt to be of consequence by Your Majesty's advisers, before the time when a spirit of most unreasonable opposition was developed to the moderate and equitable arrangements sanctioned by Your Majesty and approved by successive Governments, respecting the provision for the younger branches of the Royal Family. A new obstacle has thus appeared in the way of what may be termed the minor plan for a Royal Residence.

But there remains the fact of a general desire on the part of all (Mr. Gladstone believes) who have had to consider the subject, for an improvement of the provisions for the personal presence and influence of Royalty in Ireland.

With respect to the reasons quite apart from any question connected with the Prince of Wales, for the abolition of the political office of Lord Lieutenant Mr. Gladstone forbears to trouble

Your Majesty by entering upon them, since, after all, he can urge nothing so effective as the concurrence of opinion which prevails upon the general subject ; and which is founded upon the inconvenience and incongruity of Your Majesty's being represented before the People of Ireland, by noblemen, who, however excellent or however distinguished must of necessity be viewed as the associates and organs of political party, and must thus, according to their alternate colours, in despite probably of their own desires and efforts, exercise an influence of repulsion on the one side or on the other.

The abolition of the Lord Lieutenancy would afford new and marked facilities for the presence of Royalty in Ireland, but would not as of necessity and at all times require it. It would probably be found impossible, even if practicable, at once to decentralise the system of Government which has so long subsisted in Dublin. A minister for Ireland would have to be appointed, with a seat in the Cabinet ; and probably, for greater convenience, he would for the most part be a Peer. On him would rest the responsibility of administration in Ireland. He need not indeed be under the shadow of a Local Court and of a Prince. But if it be desirable on other grounds that the Heir Apparent should spend a sensible portion of the year as the Representative of Your Majesty in Dublin, the position of the Irish Minister, and the nature of his duties, would afford an admirable opportunity for giving the Prince the advantage of a political training which from no fault of his own, he can hardly be said hitherto to have enjoyed. Administrative business might without difficulty be brought under his view in its daily course. He would have the opportunity in all but extraordinary cases, of forming his judgment, and offering his remarks, while it was still under actual consideration, and with a view to practical results. He would at the same time be completely shielded from political responsibility in its technical sense ; and it would be the business of the Irish Minister to take care in every case that his own relations to the Crown, and to Your Majesty's Advisers, were not disturbed.

While these advantages would be gained for the Prince, the maintenance of a Court in Dublin would be placed upon a higher and broader ground than at any former period, and, unless the best judges of Irish character are wholly at fault, a new and very effective provision would be made for eliciting and training some

of the best portions of that character, and for promoting the formation of a healthy tone of public opinion and feeling in Ireland through the action of personal attachment to Your Majesty and to the Royal Family.

No financial difficulty would be offered by this plan of proceeding. The suppression of the Lord Lieutenancy would supply a considerable fund. The Prince's means would be enlarged from that source in a degree probably exceeding any increase of demands upon him. But further, Parliament, if it recognised in the measure a character of breadth and a promise of public benefit, would not absolutely require that it should be productive also of a direct pecuniary saving. If the plan worked well, it could not fail also to raise the social tone of the capital of Ireland.

There is not, as Mr. Gladstone believes, any ground for apprehending that the adoption of this plan would be regarded as invidious either by England or by Scotland. It would be remembered, in the spirit of justice, that, up to this time, their enjoyment of the presence of Your Majesty and of the Royal Family has been almost exclusive, and that the days spent in Ireland by any personages of the Blood Royal have been few even as compared with those spent on the continent of Europe.

According to the plan which has been sketched and which would exhibit Royal Presence in Ireland at its zenith, the Prince of Wales, representing Your Majesty in Ireland, whether with or without any special designation, would probably not spend there, including visits to different parts of the country, more than from four to five months of his time, though less could hardly be thought to suffice. Considerably more than half of it would thus remain for disposal elsewhere.

Whether His Royal Highness would consent to enter into this design, is a matter which Mr. Gladstone's duty would not allow him to consider or to open, until it had been submitted to Your Majesty. Whether it would, if attempted, be found suitable for him, Mr. Gladstone must not presume too confidently to pronounce. Yet he will venture to express an opinion that the admirable social qualities and the activity of the Prince would find in it a field for most beneficial exercise ; and that an introduction to public business, which will in the course of nature at some period make large and weighty demands upon him, would here, and cannot elsewhere be supplied in a form at once effectual

and unassuming. Speaking humbly for himself, Mr. Gladstone believes that the plan would draw out in the Prince's character what has hitherto had no adequate opportunity either of manifestation or no growth. But, even if the very worst came to the very worst, and total failure were the result, the experiment, if such it is to be called, need not be persisted in ; the provision for the government of Ireland would remain complete ; only it would have undergone an improvement.

As the time for the season and Court in Ireland would be during the winter months, or speaking roughly between November and March, there would be nothing to withdraw the Prince and Princess from the Metropolis, or to prevent their representing Your Majesty on occasions of Court and public ceremonial, during the months of April, May and June. This is a portion of the subject which Mr. Gladstone can only approach with the utmost deference and reserve. Yet he will presume to express his opinion that any enlargement of this sphere of representative action in London, which Your Majesty's wisdom might decide on, would be most beneficial. He can hardly find words to express his sense of the weight of the social and visible functions of the Monarchy, or of their vast importance alike to the social well being of the country, and to the stability of the Throne. It was Your Majesty who, by over twenty years of indefatigable practice, raised, in these most important matters, so high a standard. In the latest years Your Majesty has found it necessary, from considerations of health, to adopt altered plans of residence, and to place the discharge of these visible functions on a contracted scale. Mr. Gladstone is anxious in the highest degree that the fund of strength and credit which Your Majesty stored up for the Monarchy in the affections of the people, should not be diminished. But he bears in mind that its maintenance depends less upon memory, and upon reason, than upon habits, which require to be sustained by visible signs almost from day to day. On the other hand it has been most painful to him, under the pressure of these feelings, on more than one occasion to urge upon Your Majesty what Your Majesty felt could not be undertaken. For a necessity which is real, and of high political moment, there is no provision that can be made, which can be equal to Your Majesty's personal presence and full activity. But the severe illness of the last summer admonished Mr. Gladstone as to the grave difficulties which were in the way ; and he is

aware that it is neither just nor possible to expect from Your Majesty what was once so freely and so beneficially rendered ; so that he will be very careful to guide his own future conduct by this consideration. Naturally, however, in such circumstances he turned to the question how far the Prince and Princess of Wales, with many admirable qualifications for the purpose, can render assistance in the discharge of what he has termed the visible duties of the Monarchy. And he is convinced that if Your Majesty should think fit, with a view to the maintenance in full of its social and moral influence, to make any new calls upon those illustrious Personages, their power to serve Your Majesty with effect, and to confer benefit upon all society, but especially upon the higher society of London, would be increased and not diminished by the accession of personal consideration and respect which would accrue from the discharge, during a portion of the year, of duties in Ireland such as those to which allusion has been made.

Your Majesty will not fail to observe that the outline which has thus, at great length, but very imperfectly, been presented, is sufficient, when other necessary and ordinary calls are remembered, to embrace the entire circle of the year, and so much of the Prince's time as could in all likelihood be disposable. Four to five months in Ireland, two or three in London, the Autumn manœuvres, Norfolk and Scotland, with occasional fractions of time for other purposes, would sufficiently account for the twelvemonth.

Mr. Gladstone will not further aggravate the severity of this tax upon Your Majesty's patience by referring to a variety of topics which might perhaps be used to strengthen the views he has expressed ; nor will he enter upon any verbal apologies either for the length or for the freedom of this letter, aware as he is that so far as they could have any force, Your Majesty will supply their place by ascribing his prolixity to the depth of his anxiety for the interests involved, and to his sense that the grave events of last year have given to the present juncture the character of a noble and priceless opportunity, from which the greatest benefits may be extracted, but which, if it be let slip can hardly recur.

471 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. 9 July, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty transmits and presumes to recommend for Your Majesty's perusal, an interesting article in

Fraser's Magazine for the present month, by General Cluseret¹ giving an account of his connection with Fenianism, his total despair of it as an armed conspiracy and his advice to Fenians to abandon their present plans and ideas, and make common cause with the "advanced" reformers of England, thus entailing "the alliance of England with Ireland on one common platform."

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Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. July 12. 1872.

As the Queen has so much to write & to do—she has made use of Col: Ponsonby's pen in answering Mr. Gladstone's long Mem^m on the Prince of Wales, & sends it herewith.

ENCLOSURE

The Queen has given her best consideration to Mr. Gladstone's Memorandum in which he submits his proposals for the profitable occupation of the Prince of Wales' time.

Mr. Gladstone does not think that employment in connection with any of the great departments of State in England would be adequate, as such would not lay any firm foundation for habits of business and he suggests that the Prince of Wales should spend a portion of the year as the Representative of The Queen in Dublin while the responsibility of the Administration would rest with the Irish Minister.

The Prince of Wales would thus be placed at the head of a smaller and inferior society to that of London and no official business would be submitted to him except in a private way. This would certainly not encourage those habits of business sought for by Mr. Gladstone and the Prince of Wales shielded from all responsibility would have no inducements for exertion since there are very few persons who will work unless forced by responsibility to do so.

In Ireland at first everything will be expected from the Prince of Wales, but when it becomes known that he has no patronage nor political power there will be a reaction which will direct itself against himself personally. It will be impossible for him to keep entirely aloof from all party feelings and it is probable that he will be surrounded by Gentlemen of the Irish conservative party who will endeavour to attract him to their views.

¹ A leader of the Paris Commune.

Mr. Gladstone evidently desires that the Prince of Wales should take the place to a certain extent of the Lord Lieutenant so as to facilitate the abolition of that office, but if this be so he will find himself compelled to make some promise or pledge that the Prince of Wales will undertake to reside in Ireland, for four or five months every year, a promise which it is extremely improbable the Prince of Wales would be inclined to make, even if his health permitted him to do so. If after this "the worst came to the worst" The Queen cannot think that the only result would be that the Government of Ireland would have "undergone an improvement" for the Irish would then have some right to protest that the Viceregal office had been abolished under false pretences and the Queen and the Prince of Wales would be accused of having been parties to a deception.

The Queen will not at present enter into the details of the plan which seem to be full of objections, but will simply remark that it does not seem to be desirable to introduce violent changes into the Government of Ireland at a moment when that country appears to be in a state of fermentation and requires a steady, firm and quiet administration to enable it to settle down.

Mr. Gladstone goes on to suggest that the Prince and Princess of Wales should represent The Queen on occasions of Court and public ceremonial during the months of April, May and June. Mr. Gladstone should remember that The Queen does her utmost to fulfill all these duties as far as her health will permit. The Queen holds drawing rooms and councils, gives audiences, entertains at morning parties and receives many persons at dinner, leaving to the Prince of Wales the Levees, Balls and Concerts so that in point of fact this proposal is anticipated.

Mr. Gladstone however implies that The Queen might call on the Prince and Princess of Wales to exert an influence on Society for its moral and social benefit. Although The Queen thinks that modern Society is far better than that which existed 70 or 80 years ago she earnestly agrees with Mr. Gladstone that a better tone should be encouraged, but it is quite evident that this cannot be effected by any increased powers conferred upon the Prince and Princess of Wales since they are fully able in their present position to check any proceedings they disapprove.

The Queen will shortly take an opportunity of speaking to the Prince of Wales and of discussing the subject with him, indeed

The Queen considers the latter part to be a question which more properly concerns herself to settle with the members of her family as occasion may arise.

473 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

July 17. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive Your Majesty's letter of the 12th ; and together with his humble duty, expresses his conviction that Your Majesty will approve of his endeavouring, in a matter of so much importance, to bring out more clearly the relative weight of the considerations on which he founded his memorandum of statement of July 5.

Your Majesty has been pleased to state various objections to the plan recommended by Mr. Gladstone for supplying H.R.H. the Prince of Wales with adequate and suitable employment, that plan having for its central portion the assumption by His Royal Highness of certain duties on the part of Your Majesty in Ireland.

In a separate memorandum, transmitted herewith, Mr. Gladstone humbly lays before Your Majesty what he thinks may be worthy of consideration in reference to those objections.

But while submitting to Your Majesty's wisdom in a substantive form the only plan which, after much consideration, he has himself been able to form, he is very far from assuming that it is in all respects unimpeachable, or that it is attended with no risk, or that there may not be some other plan addressed to the same purpose, and superior in efficacy and convenience.

He desires to distinguish broadly between the end in view and the choice of means for the attainment of that end. As to the end in view, he cannot too strongly express his conviction of its momentous importance ; while as to the means, provided they attain the end, the comparative merits of different modes may be regarded as a subject of secondary rank. It has not been in Mr. Gladstone's power, without a permission from Your Majesty, to test sufficiently by reference to the judgment of others the mode proposed by him for dealing with this secondary portion of the subject. But as to the grave considerations which have moved him to obtrude so earnestly on Your Majesty's notice the expression of his views, he cannot doubt that their right is recognized and that very widely, by others more

competent, even if less responsible than himself, and that, so far as these are concerned he gives utterance to sentiments which are shared largely with him by the most faithful, attached, and experienced of Your Majesty's subjects. That which Mr. Gladstone would presume to call the fundamental proposition, is, that it is highly requisite to provide the means of remodelling (so to speak) the life of the Prince of Wales, by finding for His Royal Highness that adequate employment, from which, without any fault, he has hitherto been debarred. And the considerations which recommend this proposition may, as it seems to Mr. Gladstone, be summed up under two heads ; the first that which relates to the Prince of Wales personally and for his own sake ; the second that which embraces the general interests of the Monarchy, and the importance of increasing and husbanding its strength. The Prince, in his present position, is exposed to all the dangers of the highest rank without its safeguards. These are known to be found in the obligation and the habit of weighty and manly duties, which supply the mind at once with employment, with food, and training for the possible responsibilities of the Crown hereafter. Every year which passes away without finding the means of meeting the want lessens the likelihood of its removal.

But Mr. Gladstone will not debate on that which Your Majesty will before all other persons comprehend and feel, namely that to find in some way something far beyond merely nominal or merely occasional employment for the Prince of Wales has become a matter of cardinal importance for the interests of the Nation, and for his own.

Neither does the case seem to be less unjust with reference to the general interests of the Monarchy, as they are affected by the state of Your Majesty's health. Mr. Gladstone does not forget Your Majesty's desires and exertions to fulfil what he has termed its visible duties ; but neither can he be insensible to the limitations imposed from the cause first named, and the wide difference of circumstances which this cause, not alone, but combined with Your Majesty's heavy affliction and irreparable bereavement, has brought about. Your Majesty may perhaps be more likely than many persons, whether Sovereigns or others, would be, to undervalue benefits due to Your own deeds. Mr. Gladstone refers to Your Majesty's residence, during so many years, among and in the view of your subjects ; and to the powerful and healthful

influences of an active kind exercised so largely and so long by Your Majesty upon those members, and those circles, of Society, which in their turn give the tone through other and yet wider spheres, and thus affect the mass of the Community.

Mr. Gladstone hereby submits that, were a Nation a being formed to act by pure and dry reason, without doubt it might be shown, that the important changes, which have occurred, are due to the causes which have been already indicated, and in no degree to an alteration of will on Your Majesty's part. But a Nation seems to be affected more powerfully and practically by other forms of motive than by mere reasoning. It is perhaps more acted on by signs than by proofs : it ceases fully to believe in what it does not see ; and the question is really not one of the mere avoidance of cavil but of the maintenance, in its full force, of a beneficial power to guide. It is because Mr. Gladstone knows the full duties of Monarchy to be so burdensome, and has so entire a sense of the truth and force of all that Your Majesty has vouchsafed at different times to state respecting a diminution of strength to meet them, that both for Your Majesty's relief, and to supply a public want, he has so anxiously considered not indeed how an equivalent can be provided, for of this the case does not admit, but how the next best provision can be made.

What has last been said refers to Residence and Ceremonial. Still more does Mr. Gladstone feel the public loss entailed by any withdrawal or any contraction of the influence of the highest example in the highest station, maintained and propagated by social contact with those whose station, character, and other gifts [are] brought within the circle of Your Majesty's notice.

Most true it is that the country owes Your Majesty a deep debt of gratitude for social benefits, which involved very arduous labours ; but which were also among the most effective supports of the living influence of the Monarchy. In all that Mr. Gladstone has presumed to say, he has proceeded upon the belief that with reference to the present and especially to the coming times, the Crown cannot be too rich in these moral and social resources, and that in this sense it never can have any strength to spare. Mr. Gladstone therefore trusts that, in connection with the opportunity presented by recent circumstances, Your Majesty will be disposed to think that there are strong reasons for the adoption of *some* plan, which may give the Prince of Wales adequate and becoming

occupation, and may enable him, with the Princess, to contribute in the highest degree of which the case admits to the maintenance of the strength and influence of the Monarchy.

Mr. Gladstone takes upon himself humbly to assure Your Majesty, that he has not written thus with reference to any interest personal to himself, or peculiar to the present Government.

His own career, such as it has been, is very near its close ; and the Government has already subsisted through an average length of time. Nor does he pretend to forebode, as the consequences of the present state of things, any early outbreak of mischief. Signs indeed there have been, both inside and outside the walls of Parliament, which have contributed to form his convictions. But he presumes it to be the duty of every minister, so far as his vision reaches, to reckon with the more distant as well as the immediate future. His humble observations are prompted by the desire that nothing of what Your Majesty has done for the country may be impaired or lost, and that as the former, so the latter portion of Your Majesty's reign may be marked by a constant growth of the strength and splendour of your great inheritance.

(Copy)

ENCLOSURE

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 17 July, 1872.

With respect to Your Majesty's gracious observations on the recommendation humbly tendered by Mr. Gladstone concerning His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Mr. Gladstone submits the following remarks.

1. He is far from deprecating employment for His Royal Highness in connection with any of the great Departments of State in England, which indeed he has, as to more than one of them suggested ; but he is persuaded that such employment, if it stood alone, would fail of reaching the end in view.

2. The submission of business to His Royal Highness would be private in the sense of not being subjected to departmental rules and forms ; but it might be as regular as the submission of business to the Sovereign ; and as this would take place in the course of its transaction, and would allow and even invite the formation and expression of opinions, which it would be the duty of the Minister in ordinary circumstances to weigh before deciding, Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks it would be well calculated to foster industry by creating interest in the things done, and also to create the

sense of responsibility according to that very real signification of the word in which it applies to Personages who cannot, in their exalted station, be made amenable to political consequences.

3. It appears to Mr. Gladstone that undue expectation at the outset, and disappointment at a later stage, might be guarded against in an effectual manner by one and the same instrument, namely a clear explanation of the plan at the time of its adoption.

As the Prince in such a position could not be responsible after the manner of a Lord Lieutenant and as this would be clearly understood, it would also be known that the minister must have a permanent control over patronage—and Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks that the opportunity of confidential contact, in the actual discharge of their public duties with statesmen of different parties would tend to dispel many illusions, and to obviate, rather than to increase, the danger of any narrow prepossessions and premature attachments.

4. The plan does not of necessity require the prior abolition of the Viceroyalty. The country might be governed as now for a time by Lord Justices, so far as formal acts are concerned. The abolition, when it came, would be a measure complete in itself, and one which has been long and generally desired in Ireland on its own merits, and not for the sake of facilitating Royal Residence.

This would be a boon over and above another boon. No unconditional promises would be asked or received from the Prince of Wales, to reside between four and five months in Ireland.

For the plan is in the nature of an experiment ; and must be tried by the working. Whether as regarded Your Majesty, the Prince himself, or the Government, there would be no promise beyond a promise to try it, such trial being of course presumed to be an adequate trial. This being so Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks there could be no room for the idea of deception, and it may be well to bear in mind that the question of Royal Residence in Ireland is not a new one, but on the contrary, though it has been kept at arm's length by the Government, rather presses for solution.

5. With respect to the condition of Ireland as opportune or otherwise for the abolition of the Vice Royalty, Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks it to be beyond doubt, that any difficulties

attending the measure are very much smaller now than they were when, over twenty years ago, Your Majesty's Government of that day proposed a Bill for the purpose, and carried it through the House of Commons.

6. With respect to the proposed position of the Prince of Wales in Dublin, Mr. Gladstone has humbly thought that the sense of responsibility and practice of public duty belonging to it would render it a much more safe one, than the position now held by His Royal Highness.

Mr. Gladstone also submits that the Prince and Princess could not but gain largely in social influence for good, in proportion as their social relations were placed in closer connection with high and important aims. Mr. Gladstone has long been aware of Your Majesty's anxiety that the tone of the higher society should be improved: and he cannot but humbly share that feeling the more, because, though he is unable to draw a comparison with the remoter period to which Your Majesty refers, he notes a serious deterioration within the last twenty years.

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Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. July 21. 1872.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's long letter of the 16th.

She fully recognises the importance of finding some adequate employment for the Prince of Wales & only disagrees with Mr. Gladstone as to the mode in wh he suggests that employment shld be found, the difficulties & drawbacks attending wh are so many & so great that she doubts the possibility of carrying out the Scheme.—

The Queen will speak to the Prince of Wales upon the subject when he comes to Osborne, but she has great reason to believe that he wld be most averse to going to Ireland as proposed.

The Queen scarcely thinks the question shld at present be brought before the Cabinet but she has no objection to Mr. Gladstone conferring with such persons as he may think fit, in private, upon the best means of providing employment for the Prince of Wales wh without tying him down to one particular spot or Country wld encourage him to take an interest in matters of business.

475 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. July 22. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone humbly acknowledges Your Majesty's gracious letter of yesterday, and is thankful for the intimation that Your Majesty will speak to the Prince of Wales at Osborne on the subject of Mr. Gladstone's recent letters.

He will on his part not fail to avail himself of Your Majesty's suggestion, while he concurs in the opinion that there would be no advantage in drawing at the present time the attention of the entire Cabinet to the question.

476 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. July 30. 1872.

The Queen feels sure that a few words of sympathy from Mr. Gladstone w^{ld} gratify the poor Duke of Aumale.¹

477 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 30th July, 1872.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, acknowledges Your Majesty's note of this day, and although he would have thought it too great a liberty for him of his own motion to write to the Duc d'Aumale on the sore calamity which has befallen him, yet, encouraged by Your Majesty's suggestion he will not fail to do so.

Meantime he thinks he ought to report to Your Majesty a blow which has fallen upon his family circle, in the very sudden death of his brother-in-law Mr. Glynne, the Rector of Hawarden, and the husband, as Your Majesty's unfailing memory will record, of Lady Lyttelton's youngest daughter. . . .

Mr. Gladstone would not have presumed to trouble Your Majesty with this intimation, but for his knowledge that Your Majesty's heart is drawn instinctively towards every scene of sorrow.

478 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

OSBORNE. 31 July. 1872.

Am grieved to see that Mrs. Gladstone has lost her brother was it sudden express my sincere sympathy.

¹ On the death of his last surviving child.

479 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Aug. 1. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone having received your Majesty's kind and gracious letter expressing a desire to know details of the sad event of Hawarden, thinks he cannot supply them better than by sending to Your Majesty, as it is, his wife's hasty letter of yesterday which affords as he fears sufficient proof that this valuable life might have been saved : but it was lost or at least spent apparently in the active and too persistent discharge of duty. The last sheet of the letter has not reached Mr. Gladstone. In another note he hears from his wife that Gertrude had been able to visit the room where he lay.

480 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Aug. 2. 1872.

The Queen returns this sad letter with many thanks. It seems very inexplicable.

She trusts Mr. Gladstone may be able to join his family at Hawarden.

Does he really think that the Council for the Speech c^{ld} be *next* Wednesday ?

481 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Aug. 5. 1872.

The Queen has discussed with the Prince of Wales the plan suggested by Mr. Gladstone for employment in Ireland & finds that he is much opposed to a scheme of this nature which offers him no real business occupation. . . . Mr. Gladstone thinks that the Prince of Wales might represent the Queen in Dublin without the abolition of the Viceroyalty, the Lord Lieutenant being simply absent from Ireland.—But in this case the financial difficulty alluded to by Mr. Gladstone w^{ld} not be overcome, for it w^{ld} be impossible to pay to the P^{ce} of Wales the Salary voted for the Vice Roy.—

It is proposed that the Irish Minister sh^{ld} be in confidential communication with the P^{ce} of Wales, but as it is also proposed that the Prince sh^{ld} be in Dublin in Feb: & March for the Season, & as the Minister must necessarily be in his place in

Parliament, it w^{ld} gradually devolve on the Under Sec^y to submit such matters to the P^{ce} of Wales as the Minister resident in London may desire him to do, & thus deprive the communication of that fresh & confidential character w^h Mr. Gladstone desires.

Mr. Gladstone puts forward this plan merely in the nature of an experiment & the Queen cannot avoid repeating that she does not think Ireland is in a fit state at the present moment to be experimented upon.

It is moreover an experiment that must be made with much publicity raising high expectations & proclaimed with confident hopes of success. If it fails, as it inevitably must, the P^{ce} of Wales will be exposed to grave condemnation for having undertaken a task which he sh^{ld} have known he was unable to perform.

The Queen can understand that the plan at first sight presented some apparent advantages, but she feels sure that on due consideration Mr. Gladstone will perceive that the details are objectionable & that, in any case, as success c^{ld} only ensue from the cordial desire of the Prince of Wales to undertake the duties suggested & from the hearty approval of the Queen, it is evident that the experiment must fail.

The Queen therefore trusts that this plan may now be considered as *definitely* abandoned.

The Queen consulted the Prince of Wales upon the nature of the employment he desired.—

He is anxious to be informed on all public matters w^h are of special interest & to be assisted in forming an opinion on such subjects by communications from the members of the Government.

He is also extremely desirous of being attached in some mode or other to the different departments of the State so as to learn the principles on w^h they are conducted & he thinks that if he were appointed a member of the Indian Council he w^{ld} be able to gain some knowledge of Indian Affairs & find an interest in the discussions of that Body. He might thus be encouraged to seek occupation w^h w^{ld} be congenial to his tastes, while at the same time he w^{ld} be left free to move as he pleased.

If this plan failed no evil consequences w^{ld} follow nor w^{ld} the public service be in any way inconvenienced.

482 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 6 Aug. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone has the honour to acknowledge Your Majesty's letter received this day, and relating to the suggestions which, after long and anxious reflection he had presumed to submit to Your Majesty with reference to a plan of employment for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Considering the extreme gravity and importance of the subject, he hopes Your Majesty will think him right in taking time to consider what further observations or suggestions he should humbly and dutifully submit to Your Majesty.

483 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 224-7.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 8-9 Aug. 1872.

. . . Mr. Gladstone will here digress from the line of his report, to take humble notice of a message which he received through the Prince from Your Majesty a few days ago respecting Mr. Ayrton.¹ Mr. Ayrton in his relations with others has caused Mr. Gladstone on many occasions so much care and labour, that if he had the same task to encounter in the case of a few other members of the Government his office would become intolerable. And further in one case at least the recent conduct of Mr. Ayrton has given great and special dissatisfaction to the Cabinet. But on the other side there are two important considerations to be weighed. One of them is that, before a public servant of this class can properly be dismissed, there must be not only a sufficient case against him, but a case of which the sufficiency can be made intelligible and palpable to the world. But the other is that Mr. Ayrton, although some of his faults are very serious, yet is as towards the nation an upright, assiduous and able functionary.

Such being the general case with respect to Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Gladstone will add that he is not cognisant of the manner in which he has demeaned himself in his more direct relations with Your Majesty, but if his conduct has been unsatisfactory in these relations it is a matter of very deep regret to Mr. Gladstone and one which he will carefully bear in mind. The controversy with Dr. Hooker² was taken up with a somewhat undue and narrow

¹ First Commissioner of Works.² Director of Kew Gardens.

vehemence on behalf of Dr. Hooker's part by the gentlemen (in general) who claim for themselves exclusively the title of men of science, and by the London Press. It was easy to foresee that in this, like all cases which are overdone, there would be a reaction. And the reaction has been strengthened by signs appearing to show that the opponents of Mr. Ayrton in the two Houses abated their ardour as the time for action approached.

Finally the question was very imprudently brought forward to-night by Sir F. Lubbock and Mr. B. Osborne without notice, and this in a manner which gave Mr. Ayrton a good ostensible ground of complaint, while at the same time, having his mind full of the subject, he was enabled to deliver a powerful and incisive, though it was also in parts an acrimonious reply. The consequence of all this is, as far as Mr. Gladstone can judge at the time, that Mr. Ayrton has inclined a considerable amount of Parliamentary feeling in his favour, and that although some may condemn him strongly, his position is not materially weakened.

As respects Dr. Hooker, he suffered to-day at once by feeble advocacy and by sharp invective. Mr. Gladstone found the position very difficult, but endeavoured as well as he could to restore it, and to have Mr. Ayrton and Dr. Hooker respectively in such relations to one another that they might be enabled after reasonable steps should have been taken, to set aside the recollections of what has passed and to live peaceably together, in the discharge of their public duties respectively.

Mr. Gladstone has entered into these details, on account of the interest expressed by Your Majesty in this subject. . . .

484 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 227.)

OSBORNE, Aug. II. 1872.

The Queen was sorry not to see Mr. Gladstone before leaving but she quite understood the difficulty of his coming here now. If he sh^{ld} be at any time in the neighbourhood of Balmoral—viz : at Fasque—perhaps he c^{ld} come over there for 2 or 3 days.—

With regard to Mr. Ayrton—the Queen must repeat that she does feel *very strongly* upon the subject. She *never* w^{ld} have *agreed* to his *appt.* had she been *aware* that he had made the *vy* offensive speech he did—& the Queen only consented to his being appointed—on the *condition* that he sh^{ld} be *removed* on the *very*

1st occasion that he misbehaved himself.—And this Mr. Gladstone promised. Not a Session, not a few months have elapsed without bringing his total want of all gentlemanly feeling, of all regard towards the feelings of others—before the Public.—His total want of taste, his contempt for art & science & his disregard for truth—all w^h those who have come in contact with him *know* make him *totally* unfit for any post of great importance & of responsibility, but *most* of all for one of such importance & requiring *such* tact as his present one.

It is *not* on acc^t of himself alone that the Queen *asks* that he sh^{ld} be moved—*before* next Session to another post, but for the honour of the Govt & the Country both of w^h *suffer seriously* from having *such* a man in *such* a position.—

Mr. Lowe,¹ Mr. Bruce² & almost every other member of the Govt., not to speak of the Queens own people w^{ld} the Queen feels sure *agree* in this. It may be difficult to move him but—some place in the Colonies, where vacancies are constantly occurring sh^{ld} be found for him.

485 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 15 Aug. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, acquaints Your Majesty that, having written a letter to the Duc d'Aumale in consequence of Your Majesty's considerate suggestion, he has received an answer from His Royal Highness which fully corresponds with Your Majesty's anticipations. . . .

486 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Aug. 15. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone . . . will have the honour of obeying Your Majesty's commands with regard to a visit to Balmoral, which with Your Majesty's permission he would propose to pay about the middle of September. . . .

With regard to Mr. Ayrton ; when he was recommended by Mr. Gladstone for office, Mr. Gladstone was aware generally that he had on some occasions made ill-judged remarks relating in some manner to incidents of Your Majesty's position, which well deserved rebuke ; and that this rebuke, administered by Mr.

¹ Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² Home Secretary.

Bright, had seemingly been acquiesced in by Mr. Ayrton. Mr. Gladstone was under a full belief that Your Majesty was also aware of the circumstance, and had graciously condoned it. It would have been warrantable, but hardly politic, to treat it as a ground of exclusion. When Mr. Ayrton had taken office, he was, like every other political servant of the Crown, on his trial : and this, when he became First Commissioner of Works, under circumstances very critical : the recent prior occupants of that office having not gained much credit in it, and the office itself being the favourite butt of the art-critics of the House of Commons, a merciless and assuming set of men.

In that office he has made the character of being rude and inconsiderate with respect to men, but zealous, able, assiduous, and upright with regard to public business, or at least to public interests.

As a person who gives much trouble, and who does not conciliate attachment, Mr. Ayrton is not likely on any occasion to obtain for himself more than justice. To few, probably, has he given more trouble than to Mr. Gladstone : but Your Majesty will be the first to feel that this does not absolve Mr. Gladstone from an obligation to judge him justly. Mr. Gladstone is indeed himself reputed to be a person singularly subject to illusions : but he is quite sure that he has no illusions with respect to Mr. Ayrton.

If Mr. Ayrton has misconducted himself in his direct relations with Your Majesty, that would be a good ground for his removal from office : but misconduct which is to be the ground of removal should be such as can be publicly stated in the form of a definite charge.

There has been serious ground for dissatisfaction, on the part of the Cabinet, with some of Mr. Ayrton's proceedings ; but Mr. Gladstone believes his colleagues generally to concur in his view of the case. He will not speak for the Chancellor of the Exchequer,¹ but truth compels him to state that between these two gentlemen the grounds of complaint are reciprocal.

One statement Mr. Gladstone cannot omit to offer in favour of Mr. Ayrton. There have been for several years formidable movements against the property of the Crown, in the interest of the inhabitants of particular places and neighbourhoods, and

¹ Mr. R. Lowe.

particularly of the metropolis. As special cases may be mentioned those of the Thames Embankment, of Epping Forest and of the New Forest. These movements have been countenanced, in a manner which Mr. Gladstone can neither comprehend nor justify, by more than [one] ex-commissioner of works. Mr. Ayrton, although a Metropolitan member, has behaved in respect to them all with perfect courage and integrity.

With regard to exchanging Mr. Ayrton's office, it is what Mr. Gladstone has much desired. But it is only India which is likely to offer (and which indeed does now offer) such an office as he could fairly be expected to take : and unfortunately Lord Halifax¹ has apprised Mr. Gladstone that circumstances (whether of controversy or not Mr. Gladstone does not know) had occurred during Mr. Ayrton's former career in India, which rendered his return thither inexpedient.

Mr. Gladstone has thus endeavoured to lay before Your Majesty with fulness and freedom the leading points of a difficult case, which will continue to occupy his mind with a view to acting for the best in any circumstances that may arise : since he cannot be surprised at, nor venture to question that there is cause for, Your Majesty's dissatisfaction.

487 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 28 Aug. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty, now reverts to the subject of the letter which Your Majesty did him the honour to address him on the 5th August.

So far as that letter stated particular objections or difficulties appearing applicable to the Plan submitted by Mr. Gladstone, he humbly offers in an annexed Memorandum some considerations, which he thinks calculated to mitigate or remove them. He adopts such a form of communication for this among other reasons, that he may keep the more clearly distinct the great question of the necessity of what should amount to a Plan of Life, from the minor question whether the plan he has presumed to propose is the one most fit to be adopted.

Before, however, that plan is finally abandoned, Mr. Gladstone trusts Your Majesty will think it fit that he should be allowed to ask an opportunity of explaining [to] the Prince of Wales any

¹ Lord Privy Seal.

points connected with it on which Mr. Gladstone may not have enabled Your Majesty to place His Royal Highness in full possession of his meaning.

On the 21st of July, Your Majesty graciously gave permission to Mr. Gladstone to confer with others upon the best means of providing employment for the Prince of Wales, "without tying him down to one particular spot or country." Mr. Gladstone is under the impression, that these words of Your Majesty are intended to exclude from such communications any plan of residence in Ireland during a portion of the year, such as Mr. Gladstone has ventured to submit. But he has failed to profit by Your Majesty's permission, because, after the utmost consideration, he has found himself unable to frame any scheme, which he could bring himself to submit to Your Majesty as adequate to the great occasion presented by the events of last year, and which does not include residence, with duty, in Ireland, as a principal and central element.

Mr. Gladstone unconditionally assents to Your Majesty's observation that success in any plan could not be hoped for without the cordial desire and co-operation of the Prince of Wales : as well as the entire consent of Your Majesty.

Under the circumstances, if Your Majesty is, as he fears, disinclined to continue the examination of the plan proposed by him, he most earnestly hopes that there may be some other plan, which he indeed has failed to discover, but which may amount to a Plan of Life, and may meet what Mr. Gladstone, looking to a remote and not merely to a proximate future, will not scruple to call the great necessity of the case.

To appoint the Prince of Wales a member of the Council of India, which he believes to be full, would as he presumes require an act of Parliament. He feels much difficulty in judging whether an application to Parliament for this isolated purpose would or would not be advisable. He has already stated to Your Majesty in his letter of July 5 views, the expression of which he need not repeat, as to the sufficiency of this measure in itself for the attainment of the main purpose in view.

It is indeed satisfactory to learn from Your Majesty that "the Prince is extremely desirous of being attached in some mode or other to the different departments of the State so as to learn the principles on which they are conducted." His Royal

Highness may perhaps be disposed to explain more fully the view which is thus indicated rather than expressed. The mode in which Your Majesty, in early life, became acquainted with the course of public business and administration, is one which does not seem available for any person other than the Sovereign. The only other mode which Mr. Gladstone knows of, that he could venture to recommend as interesting and effectual, is that which he has endeavoured to describe in the case of Ireland, and of which Your Majesty has not been able to take a favourable view. He is far from the presumption of supposing that no other person can devise a method which he has failed to perceive ; and he believes that with a thorough and practical training such as he has suggested, in a circle of business such as that offered by the Government of Ireland, the Prince would readily learn much, even by an inspection of papers only occasional and after the fact, as to other departments. But at present the question is dark to him ; and Your Majesty would be justly offended if he were to recommend on paper a scheme, as to which he did not at least believe that he saw his way to the means of its real and adequate application to practice. If he has been unfortunate in some obliquity of view which may have led him to press what is inapplicable, he is not the less ready to examine, and to assist to the best of his power in maturing, any plan which promises success. But in projecting and considering any such design he trusts there will be remembered the magnitude of the objects to be sought, whether with reference to the Prince of Wales himself, or to the interests of the Throne, and consequently the scale on which the design itself should be framed.

ENCLOSURE

28 Aug. 1872.

I. Mr. Gladstone understands it to be the impression of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales that, according to the plan which has been submitted, he would have " no real business or occupation " and " no power whatever."

The occupation which, so far as it is in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone has humbly recommended, would be the regular and constant consideration of the administrative business of the country, of its inception, in confidential conference with the responsible minister, and (setting aside extraordinary cases) before, not after,

decisions had been taken upon it. This acquaintance with and participation beforehand in, the working of a highly-centralized government over five or six millions of people, among whom critical circumstances have not yet ceased to arise from time to time will be thought, Mr. Gladstone hopes, to constitute an occupation of much interest and importance.

With regard to power, and the real power, in one sense it is limited to those who are to be responsible, in each Act of Government, for the final decision, and is inseparable from a liability for consequences. But it is unquestionable that these decisions are influenced, powerfully and beneficially influenced, by persons not politically responsible, and therefore in that sense not possessed of power. To make this influence real, previous and confidential access to the acts of business is the first condition. This being presupposed, the amount of influence exercised will depend partly upon experience, partly upon assiduity, zeal and intelligence, partly upon station : and, where these are combined it is very great. The Prince would begin without experience, but he would gradually acquire it ; while, even from the first, the great elevation and necessary impartiality of his station would give much weight to his opinions. This weight would much increase if, in process of time, he could bring into conference with successive ministers knowledge derived from intercourse with those who had gone before them. How far would it be from the mark to overlook the power exercised by permanent under-Secretaries of State, much of which is derived from this source. But these important functionaries lack the dignity inseparable in such a case from dignity of station. Mr. Gladstone has no doubt that under the circumstances supposed the views of the Prince would form a substantial contribution to, and be a valuable element in, the Acts of the Administration.

2. In suggesting that the abolition of the Vice Royalty need not actually precede the assumption by His Royal Highness of certain duties in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone meant no more than that, by means of Lords Justices, the question might be held in suspense for a short time ; which short time however would amply suffice to enable the Prince to judge whether he was likely to find the working of the plan, when fully developed, satisfactory to himself. In connection with a period, so limited, no financial difficulty need arise.

3. Her Majesty is under the impression that an Irish minister, under the plan proposed, would require to be in London during the months of February and March. It is principally in order to avoid this difficulty that it is suggested that the Irish Secretary of State should commonly be a Peer ; and, in this way, only very rare absence could be requisite for the purposes of Parliamentary attendance. His place in the Cabinet might require more frequent visits to London : but not such as to prevent his residence at that period of the year in Dublin, so that it would be the exception rather than the rule for the conduct of business to devolve upon the under-secretary. Political exigencies would effectually obviate any tendency towards a general transfer of business to an officer of inferior standing.

4. Mr. Gladstone fully enters into the force of Her Majesty's observation that Ireland should not be experimented upon. Mr. Gladstone, however, has spoken of his plan as an experiment in immediate reference not to Ireland, but to the Prince of Wales, excepting in that wide sense in which every change, however well considered, may be deemed an experiment, he believes that the residence of a member of the Royal Family, and especially of the Prince of Wales, for high public purposes, in that country, should not be regarded as an experiment but as an important improvement in the arrangements for its Government.

5. Other observations have been made from time to time in the consideration of this subject : only one more, however, of those made by Her Majesty in the letter of August 5 may warrant a word of explanation on Mr. Gladstone's part. He is not aware of anything in the Plan which the Prince of Wales ought to know he would be unable to perform. Destined to undertake the duties of a Throne, for which time alone without employment does not constitute a preparation, he would, in attempting a task infinitely more easy, make trial of his powers, and strengthen them by use and by the acquisition of knowledge. Such an endeavour, it is Mr. Gladstone's firm belief, would be hailed with joy by the country. He humbly attaches to the performance of duty the greatest efficiency in creating, not only a capacity, but a taste for such performance, and he knows of no substitute for this powerful instrument that is to be found in any other expedient. As regards the possibility that the Prince might be drawn into close political relations with a party, and that the party opposed to the present

government, Mr. Gladstone both trusts and believes (while he feels himself to be on this point something more than an impartial witness) that there is no more effectual antidote for the narrowness or bitterness of party, than to be in a position which requires the successive holding of intimate communications with distinguished men of all parties. While, if it be feared, that social criticisms would be more active and unrestrained in Dublin than in London, Mr. Gladstone would humbly ask whether, if this be so, the impunities of London, so to call them, may not be a danger rather than an advantage, and whether the consciousness of living in the light of public observation may not, especially when combined with the safeguard of serious and weighty employment, afford a considerable security against any risk of actions such as might provoke unfavourable remark.

488

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Sept. 2. 1872.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 28th Aug: & the Memorandum on the plan proposed for employing the Prince of Wales in Ireland.

She thinks it unnecessary to enter into a further discussion of the details of this Scheme as she fully explained her views to Lord Halifax (which she has repeatedly stated before) to make them known to Mr. Gladstone, & who she is inclined to believe, though originally a supporter of the Irish plan, now fully sees its impracticability.

The Queen therefore thinks it useless to prolong the discussion on this proposal & must repeat her hope that Mr. Gladstone after consulting such of his Colleagues who best know the Prince of Wales, will be able to mature some other plan of employment either in connection with the Indian Office or some other Department of the Govt.

489 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Sept. 6. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and, having had the honour to receive the expression of Your Majesty's sentiments on his proposals respecting the Prince of Wales, as contained in Your Majesty's letter of the 2nd, need hardly say

with how much grief he finds his views to be so unequivocally disapproved by Your Majesty on a matter of so much importance, either way, to the interests of the Monarchy. But, having been permitted to explain himself at so much length, and with such freedom, he refrains from further trespass on Your Majesty's patience. He has only to say that he proposes to make known to the Cabinet, when it reassembles, the purport of what has passed ; that he will freely render to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales any explanations which may be desired, but does not feel that it would be his duty to obtrude the subject ; and that he will not fail to consult the Cabinet upon the question raised by Your Majesty as to the Indian Council, as well as carefully to consider any plans or suggestions that may come within his knowledge and may be conceived in a similar intention, whatever may be his own opinion of their sufficiency for the attainment of the great objects in view.

Mr. Gladstone this morning received a telegraphic message from Lord Granville on the part of Your Majesty respecting the visit Your Majesty graciously invited him to pay to Balmoral. He is not aware whether as matters now stand it will still be Your Majesty's desire to see him there, and he will assume, unless he hears to the contrary, that Your Majesty has no occasion to command his presence. . . .

490

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

DUNROBIN. 11 Sept. 1872.

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for his last letter. She is very sorry not to have been able to agree with him on the important subject of employment for the Prince of Wales—but with every wish to do so, & after repeatedly considering the question she cannot *conscientiously* advocate what she is thoroughly convinced is not practicable & w^h the P^{ce} of Wales himself is entirely against.

The Queen w^{ld} be vy glad if Mr. Gladstone had found it convenient to come over for 2 days early next week to Balmoral—but if there is nothing vy special to communicate the Queen hardly likes to urge Mr. Gladstone to put himself to the inconvenience & fatigue of coming over.

Everything has gone very well & great loyalty & affection been displayed, as is always specially the case in Scotland & the

Highlands, tho' the Queen has never been otherwise than loyally rec^d throughout her dominions. But Scotland & the Highlands have always been exceptionally hearty & affectionate towards her.

491 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

GUISACHAN, BEAULY. *Sept. 28. 1872.*

. . . Mr. Gladstone takes this opportunity of humbly offering his condolence on Your Majesty's recent bereavement.¹ It was with a happy foresight that Your Majesty devised and accomplished that visit, which if delayed to another year could not have been paid.

492 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. 3 *Oct. 1872.*

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Letters.—

Her loss is quite irreparable. Her *only* & most *admirable* Sister & the last, the *vy last* link (for *no* one is left now) with her Childhood & youth gone ! Life becomes more & more dreary.

The Queen is not ill but much shaken. The loss is one w^h will be more & more felt as time goes on.

493 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. *October 21. 1872.*

. . . Nothing of any importance took place while the Prince of Wales was at Abergeldie with reference to the question of employment.

He reiterated to The Queen his strong objections to the Irish plan, which is now abandoned, and he also said he should be glad to see you in course of time, and talk to you. Perhaps such a conversation may lead to some further idea as to business-occupation of another nature.

494 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 229-30.)

BALMORAL. *Oct. 22. 1872.*

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for various Acc^{ts} of the Cabinet held. Are there to be any more before Christmas ?

¹ Death of Feodore, Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.

She is glad that the Commercial Treaty with France is likely to assume a more favourable aspect.

A subject w^h however demands the most serious attention of the Gov^t is the *vy alarming & increasing* insecurity of the *Railroad*. The Queen has *repeatedly* spoken & written about this—but she thinks that nothing has yet been done by Gov^t w^h leads to remedy this most alarming subject. Legislation is applied to *every possible* subject—but the one *fully as important* as education, viz: the *safety of human life*, seems to be *much less thought of than any other*. In no country except ours, are there so many dreadful accidents—& for the poor people, who have to travel constantly by rail, & who cannot even have the comparative security w^h those who travel in 1st class carriages *can* have to be in perpetual danger of their lives is monstrous. Independent of this—the Queen's *own* family, not to speak of her Servants & Visitors, are in perpetual danger—& are put to the *most serious inconvenience* by the *inexactitude* of the Trains.

P^{cess} Louise and Ld Lorne arrived 2 hours late; P^{ce} Arthur's last train was 1 hour & $\frac{1}{4}$ late—the P^{ce} of Wales's Children 2 hours late!

It is so crying an evil & is becoming so serious that the Queen is *perfectly determined to insist* on the subject meeting with the *most serious consideration* of the Gov^t. There ought to be fewer trains, gt punctuality & other remedies to prevent the *possibility* of accidents like the one dreadful one on the 2nd instant.

Pray let this Letter be seen by the Cabinet.

495 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 230.)

HAWARDEN. 24 Oct. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to Your Majesty and will at once circulate in the Cabinet the letter he has had the honour this day to receive.

Your Majesty may rest assured that the Cabinet will carefully consider the questions relating to Railways during what remains of the present year; and the attention of Parliament will of necessity be drawn to them in the Session 1873.

The irregularity of Trains has during this season become a crying evil, and a manifest source of dangers which it is of great public importance to avert.

496

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

GLASSALT SHIEL, LOCH MUICH. Oct. 31. 1872.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his satisfactory letter relative to this all important question of the railways.—It is one w^h makes her very anxious.

She now sends a letter ¹ w^h she has rec^d from the Prince of Wales & which is intended for him to see.—

The Prince of Wales will not be in Town again till about the middle of Dec.

The Queen will arrive D.V. at Windsor on the 21st Nov: As almost everywhere, the season has been v^y bad, & the amount of ever increasing rain in spite of most beautiful days between & every promise of really settled weather, is most disheartening & quite dreadful for the poor people's crops—many of w^h are not only not taken in, but not even cut !—

Still the wet & damp in the north are v^y different from what they are in the South—especially just at this season. The Queen has kept well as to rheumatism—but her nerves are much shaken & a cloud of sorrow—but too natural—hangs over her & depresses her much.

497 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 4 Nov. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and herewith returns the letter from H.R.H. the Prince of Wales which Your Majesty was so good as to transmit to him. He has preserved a copy.—

He will of course be most ready to enter into communication with His Royal Highness on the subjects to which reference is made. It would without doubt be a great object gained if, without reference to any other means, the Prince of Wales could through Your Majesty's influence or otherwise be induced to adopt the habit of reading. The regular application of but a small portion of time would enable him to master many of the able and valuable works which bear upon Royal and Public duty. Though the Prince's turn appears to move towards that kind of training which is acquired by oral intercourse and by active life, the serious

¹ Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 230-1.

difficulties which are encountered in this direction might weigh in favour of a partial application to the study of books.

The approaching winter cannot, Mr. Gladstone thinks, be contemplated without anxiety, although the upward movement in wages will do much to mitigate pressure so far as the mass of those, who depend upon hiring out their daily labour, are concerned.

Mr. Gladstone cannot feel surprised that Your Majesty should continue to be acutely sensible of your recent domestic loss ; the sense of which, however, if aggravated (as it must be) by public cares, will, he trusts, also be soothed by the affectionate and unfailing sympathy of all Your Majesty's subjects.

Mr. Gladstone observes the date fixed for Your Majesty's return to Windsor. He proposes to summon the Cabinet next week ; probably on Friday the 15th.

498 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. 13 Nov. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty to Your Majesty, regrets that in returning the Prince of Wales' letter he forgot to state that if the Prince happens to visit London when Mr. Gladstone is in the country, he will most readily go up to town for the purpose of obeying any summons from His Royal Highness.

On perusing the articles in the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews* on the memoirs of Baron Stockmar, Mr. Gladstone sent for the work, which he at first supposed could only have been published with Your Majesty's privity and approval of the contents. He has read it with immense interest, as regards the high and rare qualities of the Baron, and generally the subjects and persons treated of : but presuming as he does that the work has not been composed under favour of Your Majesty's consent, he is utterly at a loss to understand either the liberties which the writer has taken in the publication of papers found in his Father's possession, or the turn he has given to his book with reference to the relative positions of the chief Personages who appear in it. He will not use any strong expression, but he believes that, if the Baron himself had composed an autobiography, these matters would have been very differently adjusted.

Mr. Gladstone hopes that Your Majesty will forgive this

reference to a work which, as he expects, will, when the translation appears, attract much public notice, and which must be of very great interest to Your Majesty.

499

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Nov. 18. 1872.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letters & is glad to see that he has brought the all important subject of Railway travelling before the Cabinet.

With respect to an observation in one of Mr. Gladstone's letters respecting the Prince of Wales—she has only to say that the P. of W. has *never* been fond of reading & that from his earliest years it was *impossible* to get him to do so. Newspapers & *very rarely*, a novel, are all he ever reads.

The subject of Bⁿ E. Stockmar's Memoirs of his admirable father, our most intimate friend & to whom we & ctainly the Country owe so much—has caused the Queen so much pain ever since (in June) she 1st saw the want of prudence & discretion with w^h they had been published—that she never c^{ld} bear to allude to them, as she feels so deeply pained that Baron Ernest, who till now, has always been the most discreet of men, sh^{ld} be so much & she cannot deny justly blamed for not having consulted others as to what sh^{ld} or sh^{ld} not appear—& that a false impression sh^{ld} be given of his remarkably retiring & unselfish father. Col : Ponsonby can tell Mr. Gladstone how much distressed the Queen is by it, & how vy unhappy Bⁿ Ernest (a complete invalid) is *now*, & what was clearly *not* his intention but what was a most grievous want of thought & judgment to say the least.—It is the more extraordinary as he *did* consult the Queen upon one subject, & she desired him to omit it—w^h he did at once.

500 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Nov. 19. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, has to acknowledge Your Majesty's gracious letter of the 18th. It was not without some misgiving that he took upon himself to write anything to Your Majesty about the Stockmar Memoirs, but he could not pass by a work with bearing of so much interest upon Your Majesty in a Royal as well as a personal point of view. Since coming to town

he has met only with one person who has read the German Text, namely Count Strzelecki, and his impressions correspond with those of Mr. Gladstone. The writers of the articles in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* appear to have perused little of it beyond the Biographical sketch at the commencement.

Mr. Gladstone has also to acknowledge Your Majesty's very gracious communication through Mr. Forster,¹ to the effect that, though circumstances would prevent Your Majesty from entertaining any proposal to open Parliament at the commencement of the coming Session, yet Your Majesty hoped to be able in future to discharge that function in alternate years. Of course, Mr. Gladstone understood this to be the expression of a general intention, and not to take into account special circumstances which might arise.

501

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Nov. 20. 1872.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter this ev^g.

She wishes to correct any error as to her being ready to open Parlt. in person *every other* year; that might happen, but as a rule it w^{ld} rather be every 3d or 4th year. But Mr. Gladstone & every-one else must remember that it is *the* one thing w^h it is the *most* difficult & trying for her to perform.

It is at the *coldest* time of the year;—she is obliged to be in full dress, exposed both to gt cold & heat (in the House) & to much nervous excitement, trying to her; & it is not likely that at the Queen's age—with succeeding years this exertion will become *easier* but the *worse*.—The Queen *has* been wonderfully free from rheumatism this summer & autumn but she is obliged to take care & wrap up well not to run any risk & this it is *absolutely* impossible to do when she opens Parlt.—

Still she will make the effort *occasionally* when she *can* do it. *This* next year she *cl'd not* think of venturing to do it. Her nerves require rest & quiet, having been very severely shaken.

She considers the Review of Bⁿ Stockmar's Memoirs—in the *Quarterly* vy admirable.—She is vy afraid it is by a friend of his who was purposely anxious *not* unduly to draw people's attention to the objectionable parts.—

The Queen concludes she will see Mr. Gladstone at the Council.

¹ Vice-President of the Council.

502 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

Nov. 22. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone is extremely sorry to find that he has fallen into an error with respect to the communication from Your Majesty on the subject of the opening of Parliament; which he endeavoured to state as nearly as possible in the form in which he received it. He humbly assures Your Majesty that his error was inadvertent and not due to any desire to press upon Your Majesty, after the events of the last eighteen months. He is aware that the particular function of opening Parliament is one which always pressed much upon Your Majesty; and he had had no intention whatever of urging it, or recommending it, on the occasion now approaching. . . .

503 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. Dec. 3. 1872.

. . . Mr. Bruce¹ submitted a memorial from O'Connor the youth who was guilty of the outrage against Your Majesty's person. This memorial will be submitted by Mr. Bruce to Your Majesty; it is well written, with an appearance of sincerity, and its declarations are satisfactory in this important particular, that he is willing and desirous to depart from England to a distant country provided only it be one favourable to his health. The Cabinet agreed that Mr. Bruce should, without ostensible interference of an official character, avail himself of this favourable opportunity, and make arrangements for the payment of his passage, and for securing (without forcing) his departure.

504 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. December 11. 1872.

You will of course submit to The Queen any plan you may think of proposing with reference to the Royal Residence in Ireland, but Her Majesty thinks it right to put you at once in possession of her views upon the subject generally.

The selection of a place must depend very much upon the advice given by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland² and Lord Hartington,³ and The Queen thinks it would be advisable that a house should be, in the first instance, only hired and not purchased.

¹ Home Secretary.² Earl Spencer.³ Chief Secretary.

In discussing the subject in Parliament care should be taken not to pledge The Queen or any of the Royal family to live in the place for any fixed term.

Her Majesty could not make any contract on behalf of the Royal family and it would be very unwise to do so. For any Prince who found himself compelled to reside for a certain fixed period in the place would feel himself a prisoner and consequently detest the spot it is intended to attract him to. Besides which there would be much impropriety in discussing such a subject in Parliament as the period—whatever it might be—would in the hands of hostile critics be made to appear very short.

Nor would it be desirable that the visit should be prolonged. The novelty and excitement of an occasional visit will please the Irish, but if the visits became lengthened residences, the novelty will wear off and excitement may be sought for in attacking the member of the Royal family who was making the house his home.

505 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Dec. 13. 1872.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty desires to explain to Your Majesty, after reading Colonel Ponsonby's letter, that he has no intention of framing any plan for Royal residence in Ireland of the nature referred to, as he has already fully stated his views on this important subject : but that Lord Hartington ¹ has announced on his own behalf and on that of the Viceroy that they will probably bring a proposal before the Cabinet for consideration, and for submission to Your Majesty in case the Cabinet should be able to satisfy themselves on its particulars.

Mr. Gladstone will at once make known to Lord Hartington the contents of Colonel Ponsonby's letter. The Cabinet may possibly not meet again for some time.

506 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Dec. 24. 1872.

. . . Too late for Christmas day, Mr. Gladstone humbly tenders to Your Majesty his own, and his wife's best wishes for the New Year now approaching.

¹ Chief Secretary.

507 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Jan. 19. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone has the honour to reply, with his humble duty, to Your Majesty's inquiry received through Sir T. Biddulph. The measures which the cabinet proposes to introduce, so far as its deliberations have yet proceeded, relate to University Education in Ireland, Re-arrangement of the Courts of Judicature, Transfer of Land, Railways, Local Taxation, and Amendment (probably) of the 25th Clause of the Education Act. Further progress will probably be made on the re-assembling of the Ministers, who are to meet on the 21st. Mr. Gladstone fears Your Majesty will find little in the statement except what has been stated by him from time to time in his reports of meetings of the Cabinet. The leading measure, however, as he anticipates, of the early part of the Session will be the first of those which he has named.

508 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. 24 Jan. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that at the meeting of the Cabinet to-day Lord Granville made known Your Majesty's suggestion that the Ministers individually might with advantage make inquiries for the Imperial Family at Chislehurst.¹ This has already been done on the part of Lord Granville himself and of Mr. Gladstone. It may be right to mention that various members of the Cabinet have not at any time had personal relations with the Emperor Napoleon III. . . .

509 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 239.)

DOWNING STREET. 31 Jan. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the Cabinet to-day has spent many hours in examining and settling the Clauses of the Irish University Bill, which they propose to introduce into Parliament.

The Bill is in a state in which a print of it could be submitted to Your Majesty, should Your Majesty be disposed to take the trouble of examining it.

The Cabinet also considered the terms of a Telegraphic message which Lord Granville proposes to send to Lord A. Loftus,² which

¹ On the death of Napoleon III.² Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

represents that the Russians are about to increase enormously the scale of the expedition to Khiva. The statement is not authenticated, but even if it be true, it does not appear to afford to Great Britain any ground of remonstrance.

510

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 240-1.)

OSBORNE. February 1. 1873.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letter rec^d this m^e. She w^d certainly desire to see the proposed measure for Irish Education as well as any others of importance, at least a slight outline of them, as it is *not right or fair* that the sovereign sh^{ld} be expected to give her support & consent to measures which she knows *nothing* of. And there have been several instances when measures have been introduced when it was too late for the Queen to make observations upon them.

The Queen w^{ld} certainly *not* wish any mention of her absence at the Opening of Parlt being made in the Speech—& did not approve its being done on a former occasion. It never used to be done when in former times she occasionally did not go in person—& the Queen much fears that with the *best will* she may be *vy often* prevented from doing so—for, as she before stated, *years* do NOT increase her ability to do so—& this year even, had she been willing to do so,—she feels she c^{ld} not have ventured to do it ; for, ever since she has been back from Scotland, without any very severe attack, she has been constantly suffering from rheumatism so as to be obliged to wrap up *vy much*—& the double exposure in *full* dress to cold & in the House of Lords—the great heat—w^{ld} be almost impossible for her without running serious risk of being quite laid up. . . .

The Queen w^{ld} be glad to see Mr. Gladstone, on Wednesday—but sh^{ld} the weather be very inclement she sh^{ld} not risk it on the Eve of the Opening of Parlt. The Queen expects to be at Windsor on the 17th or 18th.

The Queen approves of the G.C.B. being offered to the Lord Chief Justice¹ for his recent labours as Arbitrator at Geneva.

¹ Cockburn, L.C.J., was British member of the arbitral tribunal on the *Alabama* claims.

511 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 241-2.)

1 Feb. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive Your Majesty's letter of this day and he loses no time in forwarding with his humble duty the last secret print of the Irish University Bill with a few notes of amendments made by the Cabinet yesterday.

He has taken the liberty of writing "Secret" on the Bill not only because papers of this kind are confidential but because in this instance the paper should bear a mark of its character which it happens to be of great importance to preserve.

The aim of the Bill is to reform University Education in Ireland, for the removal of grievances and the advancement of learning, as nearly as may be on the *principles* which have been applied to the question of Universities in England, though the wide difference of circumstances calls for diversity in the mode of application.

Mr. Gladstone will have the utmost pleasure in answering any question from Your Majesty respecting the Bill.

Generally he would say he has taken the following for his rules. No Bill of great importance is adopted by the Cabinet without being made known at the time to Your Majesty and in any case when special circumstances are involved, which Mr. Gladstone can see to be likely to command Your Majesty's special interest, he is careful to indicate the fact.

Any commands which Your Majesty may give for the submission of measures while in preparation will be carefully obeyed by him.

In the present instance a variety of points remain for final adjustment but the views of the Cabinet on the main outlines are fully and clearly, even succinctly expressed in the print of the Bill herewith transmitted.

Mr. Gladstone is very grateful for Your Majesty's kind instruction respecting Wednesday and his attendance on the Council. . . .

512 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. Feb. 14. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone has to apologize humbly to Your Majesty for having failed to send Your Majesty the usual notice of Parlia-

mentary business for last evening at the proper time. The proceedings of the night did not run in the common track ; and hence the subject unhappily escaped Mr. Gladstone's memory until after the messenger of this morning had taken his departure. This irregularity however has given Mr. Gladstone some opportunity which he wd not otherwise have enjoyed of reporting to Your Majesty on the reception of the plan of the Government for Irish University Education.

He found it necessary to detain the House of Commons for a very long time in his statement on the Bill, in order if possible to convey a full and clear impression of the plan, and to show how it stands related to, and in truth grows out of, the design and history of the University of Dublin. The general impression last night appeared to be that the friends of Trinity College were relieved ; that the Liberal party and the Nonconformists were well satisfied with the conformity between the proposed measure and the accepted principles of University organisation in England ; but that the Roman Catholics would think themselves hardly or at least not generously used. All that Mr. Gladstone has heard this morning through private channels, as well as the general tone of the Press, tends to corroborate the favourable parts of what he gathered last night, and to give hope that reasonable and moderate Roman Catholics may see that their real grievances will be removed ; generally also to support the expectation that the Bill is not unlikely to pass.

513 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *February 22. 1873.*

The Queen has learnt from you with much satisfaction that a Committee is to be appointed to enquire into the causes of the Coal Famine.

The Queen scarcely anticipates any immediate beneficial result from the appointment of this Committee, but trusts that sufficient information may be elicited to show whether any legislation on the subject is desirable.

514 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *5 March. 1873.*

The Queen is anxious to know what Mr. Gladstone's views are on the present state of affairs wh^h she fears is not vy favourable

as regards the Irish University Bill w^h he at 1st thought promised to be so well rec^d.

515 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *March 5. 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to acknowledge Your Majesty's gracious letter and to say in reply that though he fears the account he has given of the actual state of things has been obscure and perplexing, he is not able materially to add to it. Your Majesty has seen the change which has taken place. It may be that this revulsion has passed its climax. No apprehension is at present entertained with respect to the immediately impending Division or Divisions, which are not likely to happen before Monday. The complexion of the debate on Monday last was partly due to accident. The state of feelings in the House is thought to have somewhat improved since that day. Mr. Gladstone will keep Your Majesty informed to the best of his power ; at present he would conclude and sum up by saying, that the difficulties must be serious, and may be prolonged or may be insurmountable, but he by no means as yet despairs of carrying all that is most essential in the Bill.

516 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 245-6.)

WINDSOR CASTLE. *March 9. 1873.*

The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone very sincerely for his long letter of yesterday & for so fully explaining to her the present state of affairs which is very critical. She much regrets the difficulties which have so unexpectedly arisen & still hopes that the Govt will have such a majority as will enable them to go on.—The Queen trusts that Mr. Gladstone will not let any natural annoyance & disappointment weigh more with him than he can help when he has to come to a decision after the Vote which is expected on Tuesday.

What w^{ld} Mr. Gladstone call a too small majority ?

She w^{ld} be grateful if he w^{ld} let her know tomorrow what he learns of the feelings of the House of Commons & of the prospects of the Govt.

She entirely approves Mr. Gladstone's decided expression of

opinion that nothing more can be done for the Roman Catholics who have *no* right whatever to complain.

517 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 9 March, 1873.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, has to acknowledge Your Majesty's gracious letter of to-day and to state that the estimates of the division are very far from improving, it being now thought that the opposition will vote in full strength, while there is not the slightest favourable alteration known to have occurred in the Irish Votes. He cannot but state that the adverse majority which only two days ago he thought unlikely is now probable. In reply to Your Majesty's question what majority for the Bill would be deemed too small, he is of opinion that the Cabinet would probably now decide upon going on with any majority however small to the next stage of the Bill, as it would be in the power of their opponents again to challenge the Vote of the House before going into Committee on the question that the Speaker "do now leave the chair." Mr. Gladstone is very grateful for Your Majesty's caution against being swayed by private feelings, and he will endeavour to be on his guard against them. He has however always looked to the completion of that commission, so to call it, which events in a measure threw into his hands five years ago, as the natural close of the main work of the present Government; and many circumstances have combined to impress him with the hope that thus an honourable path would be opened for his retirement. He ought perhaps to add that he has the strongest opinion, upon political grounds and grounds other than political, against spending old age under the strain of that perpetual contention which is inseparable from his present position; and this opinion could only be neutralised by his perceiving a special call to remain, that is to say some course of public service to be done by him better than if it were in other hands. Such a prospect he neither sees nor anticipates. But it is premature to trouble Your Majesty further on this minor subject.

518 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

March 11-12, 1873.

Mr. Gladstone . . . reports that the debate on the Irish University Bill commenced this day with a mild speech from Colonel

Wilson Patten against the Bill. . . . Mr. Disraeli rose at half past ten, and spoke amidst wrapt attention till midnight. Mr. Gladstone followed in a speech of two hours, and at two o'clock the division was called. During the whole evening the greatest uncertainty had prevailed : for himself Mr. Gladstone leaned to expecting an unfavourable result. The numbers were, Ayes (for the Government) 284, Noes 287, majority against the Government 3. It is said that 45 adherents of the Government or thereabouts, voted against them. It was the Irish vote which grew continually worse. After the division had been announced, Mr. Gladstone rose and stated that in conformity with the usual practice of the House, after a division of such gravity, he would move that the House do at once adjourn over to-morrow (this day) to Thursday. This motion was agreed to—Mr. Gladstone will have the honour to wait on Your Majesty at quarter past twelve, and he has summoned the Cabinet for one.

519 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *March 12, 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to Your Majesty that the Cabinet has concurred in his opinion that it would be desirable to defer until to-morrow offering any definitive advice to Your Majesty upon the political crisis which has arisen, in order that such advice may be tendered with the utmost advantage of deliberation. The various alternatives which are open or might be suggested formed the subject of an hour's conversation, as Mr. Gladstone will have the honour of reporting to Your Majesty—this evening : and some secondary business was transacted.

520 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *March 13, 1873.*

The Queen would be glad if you could let her have in writing a short note of what you said to Her Majesty to-day when you tendered your resignation to Her Majesty.

521 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *March 13. 1873.*

The enclosed contains the substance of what Mr. Disraeli has written to The Queen. May I call on you at 10 ?

ENCLOSURE

MARCH 13. 1873.

The Queen informed Mr. Disraeli that Mr. Gladstone had resigned and his resignation had been accepted, and Her Majesty asked Mr. Disraeli if he were prepared to form a Government.

In answer Mr. Disraeli said he was prepared to form an administration which he believed would carry on Her Majesty's affairs with efficiency and would possess Her confidence, but he could not undertake to carry on Her Majesty's Government in the present House of Commons.

Subsequently Her Majesty having remarked that Mr. Gladstone was not inclined to recommend a dissolution of Parliament Mr. Disraeli stated that he himself would not advise Her Majesty to take that step.

522 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *March 14. 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone had yesterday the honour, after consultation with his colleagues, to state humbly to Your Majesty

That the several alternatives, opened as possibilities upon the occurrence of the crisis brought about by the late vote, were recited in the Cabinet, and at once reduced to the two which alone could be entertained, of resignation and the Dissolution of the Parliament.

That upon a brief consideration of the circumstances (for which preparation had been made on the previous day, Wednesday morning) the Cabinet decided that they would not advise Your Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, and that they would, with every sense of duty and gratitude to Your Majesty for the gracious confidence they had enjoyed, tender their resignations to Your Majesty.

Your Majesty was pleased to accept the tender ; and Mr. Gladstone thereupon proceeded to acquaint Lord Granville with what had occurred, in order that they might respectively make the requisite announcement to the two Houses of Parliament.

523 *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *March 14. 1873.*

Close consideration of Mr. Disraeli's Memorandum has thrown me backwards. I do not quite clearly *understand* it ; and I have written to the Queen accordingly as a first step.

524 *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Partly printed in *Life of Gladstone*, II, 449-50.)*March 14. 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone . . . has had the honour to receive from Your Majesty and to consider by Your Majesty's desire, in conformity with his obligation while still holding office as Your Majesty's First Minister, the communication which Your Majesty has received from Mr. Disraeli in reply to an inquiry whether he was prepared to form a Government at the present time.

This reply, at first given during an audience of Your Majesty at which the question was put, has been reduced to writing, and Mr. Gladstone has been apprised by Colonel Ponsonby that the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs of the Memorandum, which he placed in Mr. Gladstone's hands under Your Majesty's commands, are copied from Mr. Disraeli's manuscript, and form the answer offered by him to Your Majesty.

Upon a careful consideration of these paragraphs, Mr. Gladstone does not find himself able to gather their precise effect.

The former of the two, if it stood alone, would seem to imply that Mr. Disraeli was prepared to accept office with a view to an immediate dissolution of Parliament, but not otherwise ; since it states that he believes himself able to form a suitable administration, but not "to carry on Your Majesty's Government in the present House of Commons."

In the latter of the two paragraphs Mr. Disraeli has supposed Your Majesty to have remarked that "Mr. Gladstone was not inclined to recommend a dissolution of Parliament," and has stated that "he himself would not advise your Majesty to take that step." Your Majesty will without doubt remember that Mr. Gladstone tendered no advice on the subject of dissolution generally, but limited himself to comparing it with the alternative of resignation, which was the only question at issue, and stated that on the part of the Cabinet he humbly submitted

resignation of their offices, which they deemed to be the step most conformable to their duty.

Mr. Gladstone does not clearly comprehend the bearing of Mr. Disraeli's closing words ; as he could not tender advice to Your Majesty either affirmatively or negatively on dissolution, without first becoming Your Majesty's adviser. Founding himself upon the memorandum, Mr. Gladstone is unable to say to what extent the apparent meaning of the one paragraph is modified or altered by the other ; and he is obliged to trouble Your Majesty, however reluctantly, with this representation, inasmuch as a perfectly clear idea of the tenour of the reply is a necessary preliminary to his offering any remark or advice upon it ; which, had it been a simple negative, he would have felt it his duty to do.

525

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BUCKINGHAM PALACE. *March 14, 1873.*

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letter rec^d this m^o. She thinks it right to correct any misapprehension Mr. Gladstone may be under by explaining that her allusion to his advising that Parliament shld not be dissolved, extended only of course to the present moment while he was in Office.

Mr. Disraeli's refusal of Office was sincere & Col: Ponsonby's record of what Mr. Disraeli reported to him (w^h Mr. Disraeli has seen & confirmed) fully bears out this meaning.

Mr. Disraeli's refusal to form a Government is absolute, & the Queen therefore calls upon Mr. Gladstone to advise her what course she should pursue in the present circumstances.

526 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Colonel Ponsonby*

March 15, 1873. Noon.

1. I have prepared a statement which I am just going to copy out fair for the Queen. It will not, I hope, cause Her Majesty any embarrassment.

2. We are going to Cliveden at 5. *Should* the Queen have occasion to see me at Windsor to-morrow afternoon or Monday morning I am at Her Majesty's Commands. This rather assumes that Her Majesty may see it fit to take some step in the interval.

3. Pray read Standard and Daily Telegraph of to-day. Neither paper knows anything, it is plain : but both are moved to say

Disraeli has taken time from the evident *naturalness* and propriety of such a course. The Post is just the same : and the Daily News thinks as much or more. The Times alone has another doctrine, and plainly has intelligence.

(Copy)

ENCLOSURE

(Partly printed in *Life of Gladstone*, II, 450-2, 652-3.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *March 15. 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has the honour to acknowledge Your Majesty's letter of the 14th, written in reply to his own of the same date ; and he now clearly understands on Your Majesty's authority that Mr. Disraeli has at once and unconditionally declined to undertake the formation of a Government.

In obedience to Your Majesty's commands Mr. Gladstone proceeds to give his view of the position in which Your Majesty is placed.

Not being aware that there can be a question of any intermediate party or combination of parties which would be available at the present juncture, he presumes that Your Majesty, if denied the assistance of the Conservative or Opposition party, might be disposed to recur to the services of a Liberal Government.

He is of opinion, however, that either his late colleagues, or any statesman or statesmen of the Liberal Party on whom Your Majesty might call, would with propriety at once observe that it is still for the consideration of Your Majesty whether the proceeding which has taken place between Your Majesty and Mr. Disraeli can as yet be regarded as complete.

The vote of the House of Commons on Wednesday morning was due to the deliberate and concerted action of the Opposition, with a limited amount of adventitious numerical aid. The division was a Party division, and carried the well known symbol of such divisions in the appointment of Tellers of the Opposition and Government respectively. The vote was given in the full knowledge, avowed in the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, that the Government had formally declared the measure on which the vote was impending to be vital to its existence.

Mr. Gladstone humbly conceives that, according to the well known principles of our Parliamentary Government, an opposition, which has in this manner and degree contributed to bring about

what we term a crisis, is bound to use and to show that it has used its utmost efforts of counsel and inquiry to exhaust all practicable means of bringing its resources to the aid of the country in its exigency.

He is aware that his opinion on such a subject can only be of slight value, but the same observation will not hold good with regard to the force of a well-established Party usage. To show what that usage has been, Mr. Gladstone is obliged to trouble Your Majesty with the following recital of facts from the history of the last half-century.

There have been within that period twelve of what may be properly called Parliamentary crises involving the question of a change of Government. In nine of the twelve cases (*viz.* those of 1830, 1835, 1841, 1852, 1858, 1859, 1866, and 1868) the Party which had been in opposition was ready to take and did take office.

In the other three it failed to do this (*viz.* in 1832, 1851, 1855) ; and the old ministry or a modification of it returned to power. But in each of these three cases, the attempt of the opposition to form a Government was not relinquished until after such efforts had been made by its leaders as to carry the conviction to the world that all its available means of action were exhausted : and there is no instance on record during the whole period (or indeed, so far as Mr. Gladstone remembers, at any earlier date) in which a summary refusal given on the instant by the Leader was tendered as sufficient to release the Opposition from the obligations it had incurred.

This is the more remarkable because in two of the three instances the Opposition had not, in the same mode or degree as on Wednesday morning last, contributed, by concerted action to bring about the crisis.

On the 7th of May, 1832, the opposition of the day carried in the House of Lords a motion which went only to alter the order of the opening (and doubtless very important) clauses of the Reform Bill, but which the Government of Lord Grey deemed fatal to the integrity of the measure. Their resignation was announced, and Lord Lyndhurst was summoned to advise King William IV on the 9th of May. On the 12th the Duke of Wellington was called to take a share in the proceedings, the details of which are matter of history. It was only on the 15th that the Duke and

Lord Lyndhurst found their resources at an end, when Lord Grey was again sent for, and on the 17th the Duke announced in the House of Lords his abandonment of the task he had strenuously endeavoured to fulfil.

On the 20th of February, 1851, the Government of Lord Russell was defeated in the House of Commons on Mr. Locke King's Bill for the enlargement of the county Franchise by a majority composed of its own supporters. Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, being sent for by Your Majesty on the 22nd observed that there were at the time three parties in the House of Commons and that the Ministry had never yet been defeated by his political friends. He therefore counselled Your Majesty to ascertain whether the Government of Lord Russell could not be strengthened by a partial reconstruction, and failing that measure he engaged to use his own best efforts to form an administration. That attempt at reconstruction (to which nothing similar is now in question) did fail, and Lord Derby was thereupon summoned by Your Majesty on the 25th, and at once applied himself, as is well known, to every measure which seemed to give him a hope of success in constructing a Government. On the 27th he apprised Your Majesty of his failure in these efforts; and on March 3rd the Cabinet of Lord Russell returned to Office.¹

On January 29, 1855, the Government of Lord Aberdeen was defeated in the House of Commons on a motion made by an independent member of their own party and supported by twenty-five of the Liberal members present. Though this defeat resembles the one last named in that it cannot be said to be due to the concerted action of the opposition as a party, Lord Derby, being summoned by Your Majesty on the 1st of February proceeded to examine and ascertain in every quarter the means likely to be at his disposal for rendering assistance in the exigency; and it was not until February 3rd that he receded from his endeavours.

There is therefore a very wide difference between the manner in which the call of Your Majesty has been met on this occasion by the Leader of the Opposition, and the manner which has been observed at every former juncture, including even those when the share taken by the Opposition in bringing about the exigency was comparatively slight or none at all.

¹ "This recital is founded on Lord Derby's statement in the House of Lords, February 28, 1851." Note made by Mr. Gladstone on the draft letter.

It is in Mr. Gladstone's view of the utmost importance to the public welfare that the nation should be constantly aware that the Parliamentary action certain or likely to take effect in the overthrow of a Government the reception and treatment of a summons from Your Majesty to meet the necessity which such action has powerfully aided in creating, and again the resumption of office by those who have deliberately laid it down, are uniformly viewed as matters of the utmost gravity, requiring time, counsel and deliberation among those who are parties to them, and attended with serious responsibilities. Mr. Gladstone will not and does not suppose that the efforts of the Opposition to defeat the Government on Wednesday morning were made with a previously formed intention on their part to refuse any aid to Your Majesty, if the need should arise in providing for the Government of the country ; and the summary refusal, which is the only fact before him, he takes to be not in full correspondence either with the exigencies of the case, or, as he has shown, with Parliamentary usage.

In humbly submitting this representation to Your Majesty Mr. Gladstone's wish is [to] point out the difficulty in which he would find himself placed were he to ask Your Majesty for authority to inquire from his late colleagues whether they or any of them were prepared, if Your Majesty should call on them, to resume their offices ; for they would certainly, he is persuaded, call on him for their own honour and in order to the usefulness of their further service if it should be rendered, to prove to them that according to usage every means had been exhausted on the part of the opposition for providing for the Government of the country, or at least that nothing more was to be expected from that quarter. Of this, as Your Majesty will see from the foregoing statement, he thinks himself at present quite unable to give them reasonable evidence. And he humbly advises and prays Your Majesty to consider whether it may be in Your Majesty's power to supply this defect. If with this view Your Majesty should desire to make confidential use in whole or in part of the present letter he humbly places it altogether at Your Majesty's command for that purpose.

The Queen having sent Mr. Gladstone's Letter to Mr. Disraeli now forwards his reply for Mr. Gladstone to read.

After this the Queen *must* ask Mr. Gladstone whether he will undertake to resume Office.

ENCLOSURE

(Copy) *Mr. Disraeli to Queen Victoria*

GEORGE STREET, HANOVER SQUARE. *March 16. 1873.*

Mr. Disraeli with his humble duty to Your Majesty.

He thanks Your Majesty for communicating to him Mr. Gladstone's letter, with Mr. Gladstone's knowledge.

He is grateful to Your Majesty for deigning to allow these communications to be made through Your Majesty, and humbly agrees with Your Majesty, that it is a mode, which may tend to prevent misunderstanding.

The observations of Mr. Gladstone, generally considered, may be ranged under two heads: an impeachment of the conduct of the Opposition in contributing to the vote against the Government measure when they were not prepared, in the event of success, to take Office and a charge against the Leader of the Opposition that when honoured by the commands of Your Majesty, he gave a summary refusal to undertake Your Majesty's Government without exhausting all practicable means of aiding the Country with exigency.

The argument of Mr. Gladstone, on the first head, is, that the Opposition, having "by deliberate and concerted action," thrown out a bill which the Government had declared to be "vital to their existence," is bound to use all means to form a Government of its own in order to replace that which it must be held to have intentionally overthrown.

It is humbly submitted to Your Majesty, that, though as a general rule, this doctrine may be sound, it cannot be laid down unconditionally, nor otherwise than subject to many exceptions.

It is undoubtedly sound so far as this: that for an Opposition to use its strength for the express purpose of throwing out a Government which it is, at the time, aware that it cannot replace—having that object in view and no other—would be an act of recklessness and faction which could not be too strongly condemned. But it may be safely affirmed that no conduct of this kind can be imputed to the Conservative Opposition of 1873.

If the doctrine in question is carried further; if it be contended, that whenever from any circumstances, a Minister is so situated

that it is in his power to prevent any other Parliamentary Leader from forming an administration which is likely to stand, he acquires thereby the right to call upon Parliament to pass whatever measures he and his colleagues think fit, and is entitled to denounce as factious the resistance of such measures—then the claim is one not warranted by usage, or reconcilable with the freedom of the Legislature.

It amounts to this: that he tells the House of Commons "Unless you are prepared to put someone in my place, your duty is to do whatever I bid you."

To no House of Commons has language of this kind ever been addressed: by no House of Commons would it be tolerated.

In the present instance, the bill which has been the cause of the "Crisis," was, from the first, strongly objected to by a large section of the Liberal Party, and that on the same grounds which led the Conservative Opposition to resent it, namely that it seemed calculated to sacrifice the interests of Irish Education to those of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy.

A protracted discussion strengthened the general feeling of the House of Commons as to the defects of the measure; the party, whom it was apparently intended to propitiate, rejected it as inadequate; and probably, if the sense of the House had been taken on the Bill, irrespective of consideration as to the political result of the division, not one-fourth of the House would have voted for it. From first to last it was unpopular, both inside and outside Parliament, and was disliked quite as much by Liberals as by Conservatives.

It is humbly submitted to Your Majesty, that no Minister has a right to say to Parliament, "You must take such a Bill whether you think it a good one or not, because, without passing it, I will not hold office—my numerical strength in the present House is too great to allow of any other effective administration being formed."

The charge against the Leader of the Opposition personally that by his "summary" refusal to undertake Your Majesty's Government, he was failing in his duty to Your Majesty and the country, is founded, altogether, on a gratuitous assumption by Mr. Gladstone, which pervades his letter, that the means of Mr. Disraeli to carry on the Government were not "exhausted." A brief statement of facts will at once dispose of this charge.

Before Mr. Disraeli, with due deference, offered his decision to Your Majesty, he had enjoyed the opportunity of consulting those gentlemen with whom he acts in public life, and they were unanimously of opinion that it would be prejudicial to the public interests for a Conservative Minister to attempt to conduct Your Majesty's affairs in the present House of Commons. What other means were at Mr. Disraeli's disposal? Was he to open negotiations with a section of the late Ministry, and waste days in barren interviews, vain applications, and the device of impossible combinations? Was he to make overtures to the considerable section of the Liberal party who had voted against the Government? The Irish Roman Catholic gentlemen? Surely Mr. Gladstone is not serious in such a suggestion. Impressed by experience, obtained in those very instances to which Mr. Gladstone refers, of the detrimental influence upon Government of a "crisis" unnecessarily prolonged by hollow negotiations, Mr. Disraeli humbly conceived that he was taking a course at once advantageous to the public interests, and tending to spare Your Majesty unnecessary anxiety, by at once laying before Your Majesty the real position of affairs.

There are many observations in Mr. Gladstone's letter which Mr. Disraeli, for convenience, refrains from noticing. Some of them are involved in an ambiguity not easy to encounter in a brief space; some of them, with reference to Mr. Disraeli's conduct in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli would fain hope, are not entirely divested of some degree of exaggeration. "The deliberate and concerted action of the Opposition" would subside, Mr. Disraeli believes, on impartial investigation, into the exercise of that ordinary and even daily discipline of a political party without which a popular Assembly would soon degenerate into a mob, and become divested of all practical influence. In the present instance, Mr. Disraeli believes he is correct in affirming, that his friends were not even formally summoned to vote against the Government measure, but to support an amendment of an honourable Gentleman which was seconded from the Liberal benches, and which would, only by a violent abuse of terms, be described as a party move.

Then, again, much is made of the circumstance that the existence of the Government was staked on this measure. Mr. Disraeli has already treated of this subject generally. But what are the

particular facts? No doubt, more than a month ago, the Prime Minister in a devoted House of Commons, had in an unusual, not to say unprecedented manner, commenced his exposition of an obtruse measure by stating that the existence of the Government was staked on its success. But, inasmuch as in the course of time, it was understood that the Government were prepared to modify, or even to withdraw, most of the clauses of this measure, these words were forgotten or condoned, and could not be seriously held as exercising a practical influence on the ultimate decision.

528 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Partly printed in *Life of Gladstone*, II, 454.)

CLIVEDEN. 16 March 1873. 10½ p.m.

Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to Your Majesty and has the honour to acknowledge Your Majesty's letter of this evening together with the letter which Your Majesty has received from Mr. Disraeli, and which is returned herewith.

It is quite unnecessary for him to comment upon any of the statements or arguments advanced by Mr. Disraeli, as the point referred by Your Majesty for him to consider is not their accuracy, sufficiency or relevancy, but simply whether any further effort is to be expected from the Opposition towards meeting the present necessity.

Your Majesty has undoubtedly judged that nothing more of this kind can be looked for. Your Majesty's judgment would have been conclusive with Mr. Gladstone in the case, even had he failed to appreciate the full urgency of the reasons for it; but he is bound to state that he respectfully concurs with Your Majesty upon that simple question, as one not of right, but of fact.

He therefore does not hesitate at once to answer Your Majesty's gracious inquiry by saying that he will now endeavour to prevail upon Your Majesty's late advisers generally to resume their offices, and he again places such service as it is in his power to offer at Your Majesty's disposal.

According to Your Majesty's command, then, he will repair to London to-morrow morning, and will see some of the most experienced members of the late Government, to review the position, which he regards as having been seriously unhinged by the shock of last Wednesday morning; to such an extent indeed that he doubts whether either the Administration or the

Parliament can again be what they were. The selections between them, and the course of business laid down in the Royal Speech, will require to be reconsidered or at least received with care.

He hopes however that it will not be necessary to ask of the House of Commons to-morrow more than an adjournment until Tuesday, and if the deliberations of to-morrow shall sufficiently open the way, he proposes to call together the late Cabinet in the forenoon of that day.

Your Majesty will probably acquaint him with any further commands which it may be requisite to convey to him. In the meantime he conceives his commission to be one of general resumption; and should he find that there is reason to entertain any question of change, he will not fail to submit his humble advice to Your Majesty in due course.

529

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

WINDSOR CASTLE. 17 March. 1873.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Letter rec^d late last night.—

She will be anxious to hear from him *as soon as possible what* the result of his deliberations with his Colleagues is—& w^{ld} be glad to see him at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 tomorrow m^g.

530 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 17 March. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty.

He has seen a few of his late colleagues, and has arranged for meeting them conjointly at his own house to-morrow at 2.

He has seen Colonel Ponsonby, who will on his behalf ask leave to postpone his visit to Windsor, until he has made practical progress in the task which Your Majesty has entrusted to him.

No new difficulty personal or other has appeared since Mr. Gladstone had last the honour of addressing Your Majesty.

He will not fail to keep Your Majesty duly informed from time to time.

Having found it would be hardly practicable to complete any arrangements in time for to-morrow's sitting of the House of Commons, he has asked for an adjournment to Thursday. This motion he founded on a brief recital of Your Majesty's

communication of last night, which led him finally to abandon any expectation that the party in Opposition might now construct a Government of the inquiry made by Your Majesty, the engagement taken in consequence by Mr. Gladstone, and the time required for the fulfilment of that engagement.

Mr. Gladstone is at a loss to explain the statement made by Mr. Disraeli: but, without mentioning names or circumstances, he has authorised those whom he has seen to contradict the inference drawn by many from that statement, that Your Majesty had refused to Mr. Disraeli permission to dissolve the Parliament.

531 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. *March 18. 1873.*

The Queen thinks it right that you should know that Her Majesty has given permission to Mr. Disraeli to read his letter (in the House) in case you read yours, and of course The Queen gives you permission to read yours of the 15th to her should you deem it necessary.

532 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *18 March 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and reports that he conferred yesterday with several of the late Ministers, and that he summoned the whole of them this afternoon to a private meeting at his house, which was, without and indeed contrary to his directions, announced in the newspapers of this morning as a meeting of the Cabinet.

The whole of his colleagues, including Lord Ripon,¹ whose answer has been obtained by telegraph, are ready with Your Majesty's gracious permission, to resume respectfully the offices they had held up to the date of last week's vote. Mr. Gladstone has humbly to ask for Your Majesty's sanction to this arrangement.

The state of business was considered at some length with reference to the effect of the recent event upon the relations of the Government and the House of Commons: but Mr. Gladstone need not trouble Your Majesty with any reference to particulars, beyond stating that the desire of all his friends is to carry on the

¹ Lord President of the Council.

Government in the present Parliament without contemplating any particular limit of time for its existence in connection with the recent vote.

Your Majesty will probably make known Your commands with reference to his coming to Windsor, and he will take care that this letter is placed in Your Majesty's hands without loss of time.

He proposes to make a public announcement of a simple kind in the House of Commons on Thursday.

533 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. 18 March. 1873.

The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letter just rec^d. She is glad to hear that his Colleagues are prepared to resume their offices & trusts that affairs may proceed quietly in Parliament. . . .

534 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. March 20. 1873.

The Queen hopes that Mr. Disraeli will explain any doubts which may have arisen in consequence of his speech on Monday and thinks that it will therefore be as well that the Memorandum should *not* be read.

You remain as before perfectly at liberty to read the Memorandum should you desire to do so.

535 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. 20 March. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to Your Majesty that this day at the commencement of public business in the House of Commons he announced in a brief speech the resumption of office by his colleagues and himself in pursuance of the reference made by Your Majesty on Sunday evening. He recited the sum of what passed between Thursday and Sunday evening in the manner which he had the honour of submitting yesterday to Your Majesty. He read a passage from his letter of Saturday to explain the ground of that statement. He referred to some considerations which had made him reluctant to return to official duty under the circumstances. And he said that the Government

would pursue the same path as heretofore, without any intention of advising a Dissolution of Parliament at any particular time on account of what had occurred last week, though they must of course remain free to tender any advice in that respect which the public interests might seem to require. Mr. Disraeli followed in a more lengthened statement covering a much wider field. He too read a passage from his letter of Sunday to meet that which had been read by Mr. Gladstone. He fully explained Your Majesty's willingness to accord him the liberty of advising a Dissolution of Parliament. In other respects Mr. Gladstone does not feel himself well able to do justice to the argument of Mr. Disraeli, especially as to the essential part of it which aimed at showing why it was not practically open to him to accept office with a view to an early Dissolution. The ordinary business of the evening was not of a nature to require Your Majesty's special notice.

536

*Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*WINDSOR CASTLE. *March 21. 1873.*

The Queen is glad to see that all passed off well yesterday.

537

*Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone**April 3. 1873.*

The Queen desires to have it recorded that if Her Majesty bears some of the expense of entertaining the Shah of Persia on his approaching visit, it is not to be taken as a precedent for future occasions, when Foreign Sovereigns or persons of distinction are invited to come over for political or state reasons, and when the invitation in no way emanates from the Queen. . . .

It must be remembered that the reception of Oriental Sovereigns entails an amount of outlay much beyond what could ever have been intended to be borne by the Civil List.

The large number of the Retinue now announced as being in attendance on the Shah will cause an expenditure probably considerably greater than what was incurred on the occasion of the Sultan's visit. The Queen will therefore only undertake to pay the ordinary expenses of entertainment at her own Palace for a limited number of days, but expects the Treasury to find funds for all expenses, outside the Palace, and for the hire of extra servants necessary—Liveries—Carriages, &c.

538 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. April 6. 1873.

The Queen rejoices to hear of the intended remission of a portion of the Income Tax & of the sugar duty.

Of course she will *not* speak of it.

She hopes Mr. Gladstone is better.

539 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. April 7-8, 1873.

Mr. Gladstone together with his humble duty submits his best thanks for Your Majesty's kind enquiries. He is now almost entirely free from the effect of his indisposition.

540 *Colonel Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. April 27. 1873.

The Queen perceives that the Cabinet Council was held at your house and fears from this that you may not have been well enough to go out.

She would be glad to hear from you that she is mistaken. . . .

541 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. May 19-20. 1873.

. . . Mr. Gladstone had an interview yesterday at Chislehurst with the Empress.¹ He thought Her Majesty much thinner and more worn than last year, but she showed no want of energy in conversation. Her Majesty felt much interest, and a little anxiety, about the coming examination of the Prince her son at Woolwich.

542 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. May 22. 1873.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his reports of the Cabinet & of the House of Commons.—

She is glad that affairs have assumed a more satisfactory aspect.—

The Queen is also glad that Mr. Gladstone paid his respects to the poor, afflicted Empress Eugénie. She trusts the dear Boy² will do well.—

¹ Empress Eugénie.² The Prince Imperial.

Since yesterday the weather has become quite mild & everything is coming out rapidly.

543 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

[June 19. 1873.]

. . . He has to add that together with Lord Granville he had this day the honour of an audience with His Majesty the Shah, who addressed them through his Grand Vizier. . . .

From a conversation with the Grand Vizier in the evening, it appeared to Mr. Gladstone that the name of Lord Palmerston is remembered in Persia as associated with a sense of apprehension.

544 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. June 22. 1873.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his constant reports & hopes he is not suffering from the vy great heat.—

The Shah's visit seems to be going off very well & he to be much pleased with his reception.

The Queen found him vy intelligent & taking interest in so many subjects & wonderfully well informed about other Countries.

She fears he is feeling the fatigue of all he is made to do, very much.

The Queen hopes Mr. Gladstone may be able to come down on Thursday if even only just to see the Queen *before* the Council, on Wednesday—without remaining for it.

She has several other audiences &c. wh^h might cause delay otherwise.

545 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. July 1. 1873.

. . . Soon after six, the Shah of Persia visited the House. A division on a trifling matter of adjournment took place during His Majesty's presence, in which he manifested an intelligent interest. The circumstance of his presence at the time is singular in this view (and of this he was informed, rather to his amusement) that until the division was over he could not be released from the walls of the House. It is probably or possibly the first time for more than 500 years, that a Foreign Sovereign has been under personal restraint of any kind in England.

546 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

8 July. 1873.

. . . At the evening sitting Mr. Richard moved for an address praying that Your Majesty would direct the Secretary of State to institute communications with Foreign Powers in order to the establishment of a system of International Law and of a tribunal for the definitive settlement of disputes. This motion was in great part a repetition of a motion made by Mr. Cobden in 1849, and Mr. Gladstone endeavoured to meet it in the tone and spirit in which Mr. Cobden was then met by Lord Palmerston, who praised the aim and the sentiment of the motion, but considered that its adoption would be impolitic. On this occasion Mr. Richard expressed his satisfaction with Mr. Gladstone's reply to him, but he declined to withdraw his motion, and to the surprise of all on a division the previous question was rejected and the motion carried by 98 to 88. Mr. Gladstone does not think it will be very difficult to frame an appropriate reply to this ill-advised address; but its adoption is under the circumstances a reproach to the House of Commons, and a new proof of the state to which it has been brought mainly in consequence of the proceedings of last March, on and after the rejection of the Irish University Bill. . . .

547 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. July 13. 1873.

. . . Mr. Gladstone having learned from Lord Granville the conclusion of the Duke of Edinburgh's engagement of marriage,¹ humbly tenders the expression of his loyal and hearty good wishes and has announced the tidings to the Cabinet, who join in his feelings on the occasion. . . .

548 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 264.)

OSBORNE. July 22. 1873.

The Queen cannot in writing to Mr. Gladstone abstain from expressing her *sincere & true* sorrow at the *most sad & sudden* tho'

¹ To the Grand Duchess Marie.

most painless death of the poor Bishop of Winchester.¹ The Queen had known him ever since *42* & admired & liked him *most before* he became a Bishop & before he leant so much to those High Church views w^h did harm & w^h are so great a misfortune to the Church.—But apart from all that, he was a most able agreeable man ; & vy kind hearted, & had shown great attachment to the beloved Prince & great sympathy for the Queen in her great sorrow.—The Queen has felt much for Lord Granville for whom this must have been a most fearful shock.

Few people will be more missed in Society than the Bishop !

549 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 265.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *July 22-3, 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive Your Majesty's interesting letter on the death of the Bishop of Winchester. He could, if it were needful, bear an independent testimony to the truth of much of what Your Majesty has said respecting that great Prelate. Of his special opinions Mr. Gladstone may not be an impartial judge : but he believes there can be no doubt that there does not live the man, in any of the three kingdoms of Your Majesty, who has, by his own indefatigable and unmeasured labours, given such a powerful impulse as the Bishop of Winchester gave to the religious life of the country. And that affectionate disposition which he testified before Your Majesty after the death of the Illustrious Prince Consort was ever ready to soothe and share the sorrows of the humblest of Your subjects. Mr. Gladstone went yesterday with Lord Granville to Abinger Hall, where the Bishop lay dead. . . . To these details, in which Mr. Gladstone has thought Your Majesty would feel an interest though the whole of them may not be new, he will only add that the extent and depth of feeling which has been shown, both in the neighbourhood and in London, are even beyond what he could have anticipated. There appears to be a widespread desire, which Mr. Gladstone shares, that he should be buried in the Abbey : of which, though but for a limited time, he once was dean, and where his honoured Father lies.

¹ Samuel Wilberforce.

550 (*Copy*) *Earl Granville to Queen Victoria*

July 26. 1873.

Lord Granville presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and begs to state that the Cabinet has been held at Mr. Gladstone's house, but he being in bed did not attend it, and has requested Lord Granville to state what passed. . . . It was announced that Mr. Gladstone's health will prevent his attending the Lord Mayor's dinner on Thursday. He is however much better and is to be driven to Chislehurst this evening.

551 *General Ponsonby to Mrs. Gladstone*[*Telegram*]

OSBORNE. 27 July. 1873.

The Queen enquires after Mr. Gladstone and hopes he is better this afternoon.

552 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. July 27. 1873.

The Queen is vy sorry to hear that Mr. Gladstone has been unwell, but she is not surprised for this last week the heat has been vy great & in London where there are no sea breezes w^h refresh the air g^y—it must have been unbearable.

Tuesday & that *night* were fearful. Thursday & Friday night were also vy suffocating.— . . .

She hopes he rec^d her Telegraph yesterday expressing her thanks for the way in w^h he resisted the extraordinary objections & pretensions of certain members.

553 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CHISELHURST. July 27. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone offers his humble duty and is very grateful for Your Majesty's gracious message received yesterday evening. Your Majesty will excuse his having requested Lord Granville to send Your Majesty an account of yesterday's cabinet on his behalf, as he had been unable to leave his room and could only communicate very partially with his colleagues. . . .

554 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

OSBORNE. 29 July, 1873.

Fear it may be too much for you to go to the House today & trust you will not be the worse Pray let me hear by telegraph how it passes off.

555 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. July 29, 1873.

The Queen wishes to express her gratitude to Mr. Gladstone for having gone to the House today. She has just had his satisfactory Telegram & she only hopes he will not be the worse.

We are expecting the Duke of Edinburgh any moment.

556 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

July 29, 1873.

Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to Your Majesty and refers in the first place to two Telegrams which he had the honour to address this day to Your Majesty from the House of Commons during the morning sitting. Mr. Gladstone humbly prays Your Majesty's attention to what may be reported in the papers tomorrow of the observations of Mr. Holt, one of the members for North-East Lancashire, on the Resolution respecting the Duke of Edinburgh's annuity. He referred to the subject of religion, and enquired whether the Grand Duchess would conform to the Church of England. The House received his inquiry with impatience, and audibly discouraged Mr. Gladstone from replying to it. But he feared the effect that might have been produced out of doors by his absolute silence, and therefore thought it better to say a few words. In doing this he had in mind the circumstance that the Treaty of Marriage is not yet concluded. He therefore confined himself to the purpose (1) of pointing out that the restrictions of our law apply only to one particular form of religion, and to that form on the ground of political danger, (2) of conveying a general assurance that the arrangements of the marriage compact would be found to give satisfaction to the Country. Should Your Majesty find anything in Mr. Gladstone's words which may require addition or correction, he trusts to Your Majesty's kindness to convey to him the necessary instruction or information before Thursday

afternoon when some discussion, probably of no great moment, may take place on the second reading of the Bill. . . .

557 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. *July 30. 1873.*

The Queen fears that your reply to Mr. Holt last night may be misunderstood as implying that Her Majesty was becoming indifferent to the religion of her family which as you are well aware is *very far* from being the case. It is no doubt true that the political attitude of the Roman Catholics was the cause of the security taken in the Act of Settlement against their connection with the Crown ; but politics and religion were and are so intimately blended in this case that it is scarcely correct to assume that there was no objection to the Roman Catholic Faith on religious grounds.

The Queen would be glad if you could take an early opportunity of stating strongly that there is no intention to depart from the stringent ancient laws respecting Royal Marriages, as a marriage with a Princess of the Greek faith is strictly within the Law and will in no way affect the succession to the Crown.

The Queen thinks some assurance ought also to be given to Parliament that the children (if any) are to be brought up as Protestants.

558 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

July 30. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, reports that he has just received Colonel Ponsonby's letter respecting his answer to Mr. Holt ; and as this is the last opportunity he will have before the debate and (as he hopes) the only remaining debate on the annuity, he troubles Your Majesty with a few lines in addition to what he has already written. Probably no one will return to the subject of the religion to be professed ; but Mr. Gladstone will readily make any statement of fact, to deliver which he may be authorized and instructed by Your Majesty. At present he understands it to be Your Majesty's desire that he should say, in the words of Colonel Ponsonby's letter : 1. " That there is no intention to depart from the stringent ancient laws respecting Royal marriages." 2. " That the children, if any, are to be brought up as Protestants." Your Majesty will probably cause him to be informed by Telegram

tomorrow before three (when the House may probably meet) *if anything has to be corrected or enlarged in what he has just written.* He presumes to add an explanation. He does not think he was understood to state that "there was no objection to the Roman Catholic Faith on religious grounds." Doubtless there was much. But he apprehends that the Roman form of Religion was selected and was alone made to operate for exclusion in the case of the Sovereign by reason of a bitter experience of its political effects : and that without such effects there would not have been the stern measure of exclusion. For other forms of religion were, as such, visited yet more severely than the Roman Catholic in the legislation of the 17th Century, for example, that of the Unitarians, whose profession was absolutely illegal, and yet this prohibited religion would not upon its being professed have of itself disabled the Sovereign from venturing to occupy the Throne. He hopes that these few words may help to elucidate his brief and imperfect statement. He suggests whether he should state or might have leave to state that the two declarations above cited are made by him out of Your Majesty's grace and favour.

559 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *July 31-Aug. 1. 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and refers to the Telegram he had the honour to dispatch from the House soon after 6, mentioning the numbers in the division on the second Reading of the Duke of Edinburgh's Annuity Bill, and stating that the debate had been satisfactory. Mr. Gladstone threw into the course of his remarks the declarations Your Majesty was pleased to desire according to the Ciphred Telegram received to-day. The House without doubt must have been gratified, but, to Mr. Gladstone's satisfaction it adhered to its wise forbearance, and indicated no disposition to pry into matters of religious conscience and conviction, lying beyond the definitions of the law.

Mr. Gladstone trusts that discussion on the Bill is now at an end. . . .

560 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. *Aug. 1. 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone reports to Your Majesty with his humble duty that Sir C. Dilke, notwithstanding the evident repugnance of the

House of Commons in general, this day attempted a partial renewal of the discussion on the Duke of Edinburgh's Annuity Bill. Mr. Muntz, one of the minority of yesterday, asserted the perfect loyalty of his intentions in a speech of evident sincerity. Mr. Anderson, M.P. for Glasgow, moved two amendments in Committee which however he, on receiving explanations relevant to the matter of them, did not prosecute to a division. Mr. Newdigate endeavoured to obtain an assurance from Mr. Gladstone that the marriage would be celebrated exclusively according to the rites of the Church of England. Upon this Mr. Gladstone thought it necessary to make a stand, and refused altogether to enter into further details. Mr. Newdigate stood alone in the House, without so much as a solitary cheer; and the general feeling has throughout been altogether sound and just. Mr. Gladstone ought to have stated, in justice to Mr. Bouverie, that he yesterday delivered a speech on the Bill which was both conciliatory and effective. . . .

561 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *Aug. 2. 1873.*

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, reports to Your Majesty that the Duke of Edinburgh's Annuity Bill has been read a third time this day without a word.

He humbly reiterates to Your Majesty his assurances respecting the tone and temper of the House of Commons as to this subject. It was in all respects such as not only Mr. Gladstone, but as he feels sure Your Majesty, if within hearing, so as to judge with the advantage which only hearing gives, would have wished. In the *Spectator* of this day is justly noticed the resolute forbearance of the House as to the religious question: though the writer of the article is evidently but ill informed on the subject of the Greek Church.

At the same time, Mr. Gladstone can ill convey to Your Majesty his report that the misjudgment or vanity of an individual here and there should, under the circumstances of a measure like this, possess powers of annoyance, which are only considerable when they are used against persons of a delicate sense of honour, and of elevated mind.

But Your Majesty knows how well it is that in this country we

may commonly feel assured that the worst of what is felt is spoken out, instead of its featuring in discontented minds and storing up secret mischief for the future. . . .

562

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 5. 1873.

The Queen is glad to know Parlt prorogued today.

She is much grieved to hear of the most disgraceful state of affairs in the Govt ¹ & feels much for Mr. Gladstone's annoyance on the subject.—She does not know *what* changes may be intended but it has struck her that possibly Mr. Cardwell may be thought of as a Successor to Mr. Lowe in w^h case she w^{ld} *strongly* urge Ld Hartington being placed at the War Office for w^h he is particularly well *suited*, from his knowledge of the business, his firmness & his popularity with the Army—w^h is much *needed* at the present moment.—And for the Office of Works—a thorough gentleman with *good taste* ought to be chosen.—

The Queen *remains here* till the *afternoon* of *Thursday 14th* when she proceeds *direct* to Balmoral arriving there D.V. early on the afternoon of the *next day*.—

She hopes Mr. Gladstone is better ?

563 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

[Telegram]

Aug. 5. 1873.

Fear I can only meet Your Majesty's strong wish to change Mr. Ayrton's office by offering him the post of Judge Advocate. I pray for a speedy answer as the state of affairs is urgent.

564 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 270-1.)

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 5 August. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has now to submit the following results of the consideration he has given, the best in his power, to the difficulties in which the Government is placed in

¹ A Cabinet crisis resulted from the irregular diversion of certain funds to the Telegraph service ; Mr. Monsell, Postmaster-General, and Mr. Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigned, together with Mr. Ayrton, First Commissioner of Works.

connection with recent miscarriages and otherwise. Lord Ripon¹ and Mr. Childers² desire to retire on account of private affairs. It is proposed, however, that the actual execution of Mr. Childers' retirement shall be delayed, though his resignation of his present office should be announced as agreed on. Mr. Gladstone himself advises that Mr. Bright be approved as the successor to Mr. Childers, when he retires in October, and Mr. Bruce³ receive a Peerage, and be appointed President of the Council in the room of Lord Ripon—that Mr. Lowe take the office of Home Secretary. That Mr. Gladstone himself assume the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, as was done by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Canning, and Sir R. Peel, 1834-5. Mr. Gladstone thinks it right to add that he submits this recommendation with extreme reluctance, and greatly in deference to the wish of his most experienced colleagues, who feel strongly with him the necessity of efforts to retrieve the credit of Your Majesty's service, so far as it is connected with the present administration. Mr. Gladstone has already telegraphed to Your Majesty respecting Mr. Ayrton. He will proceed to act with reference to the Post Office, and to subordinate arrangements. In order to lose no time in bringing these important matters under Your Majesty's view, Mr. Gladstone sends this letter down by messenger.

565

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 271-2.)

OSBORNE. Aug. 6. 1873.

The Queen rec^d late last night Mr. Gladstone's letter with the proposed new arrangements. She is fully aware of the great difficulty in wh^h he is placed & w^{ld} not wish to add to them by making unnecessary difficulties—but at the same time she thinks it her duty to point out to Mr. Gladstone that she does *not* think what is proposed a satisfactory arrangement.

In the 1st place She thinks Lord Ripon's retirement (of wh^h she had no idea) a v^y serious loss & wishes he c^{ld} be persuaded to reconsider it. 2^{ly} Will Mr. Bright, who has repeatedly refused when asked to return to Office accept it now & will he add to the strength of the Govt? 3^{ly} Will not the additional Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer not add greatly to Mr. Gladstone's work

¹ Lord President of the Council.² Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.³ Home Secretary.

wh^h is already too much for his health & lastly is it not *vy* imprudent to put a person who is so *vy* unpopular as Mr. Lowe unfortunately is into the Home Office ?

As regards Mr. Ayrton the Queen cannot but express surprise at Mr. Gladstone proposing to bring her in personal contact with such a man !—The Queen w^{ld} wish Mr. Gladstone to give these remarks his serious consideration—tho' she does *not* intend to withhold her consent to the arrangement sh^{ld} it be impossible to make any other.—

Of course this consent does *not* include Mr. Ayrton.

566 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 272-3.)

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 6 Aug. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to acknowledge Your Majesty's ciphered Telegram of last night respecting Mr. Ayrton.

He need not say he much regrets the abrupt and unusually imperfect manner in which without oral explanations he is in the stress of present circumstances compelled to bring propositions of importance and sometimes of delicacy before Your Majesty. He trusts that Your Majesty pardons him in this respect, and enters into his anxiety to remove Mr. Ayrton from the Office of Works. He feels it impossible to do this after the most recent occurrences, by a transfer to the Post Office, which would be in the nature of a promotion, and he is also very desirous that it should be effected without bringing Your Majesty personally into the question, which would be the probable result of an investigation such as might be opened by Sir Thomas Biddulph with Mr. Gladstone in regard to the details of his proceedings.

Mr. Gladstone understands Your Majesty's present difficulty to turn on the question of private personal audience.

There are two modes in which he finds, on consultation with Mr. Cardwell,¹ that this difficulty might be overcome. The first that the Secretary of State should himself personally present the findings of Courts Martial. The second, that the business should be transacted by the Judge Advocate at Councils only. Of these two the former might lead to remark ; but the second, as Mr.

¹ Secretary of State for War.

Gladstone in concert with Mr. Cardwell humbly thinks, is open to no objection on the score of irregularity or otherwise, if it should be agreeable to Your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone adds two observations first—it is far from certain that Mr. Ayrton would accept the office, secondly in the event of his acceptance—Mr. Gladstone feels that he ought *subsequently* to press upon Mr. Ayrton through Mr. Bright, or such person as might appear to be the best medium for the purpose, the propriety of his tendering to Your Majesty a personal apology for the indecorous and unjust remarks which naturally caused Your Majesty to take umbrage.

Before concluding Mr. Gladstone will venture to observe that Your Majesty has been in the habit of dealing with judicial business in Council ; but that his present proposal involves no change in the manner of dealing with Courts Martial beyond the presence of other Privy Councillors besides the Judge Advocate.

Nor does he conceive the mode of action through the Secretary of State to be in itself inadmissible, if preferred by Your Majesty, though it is more likely to attract notice, and when notice is attracted it is not altogether easy to predict the turn which criticism may take.

Mr. Gladstone hopes that these explanations may in Your Majesty's judgment offer sufficient means of escaping from all serious difficulty. As time is of very great value, he submits them with a haste which Your Majesty will excuse, and he ventures to hope for a reply by Telegraph.

567 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 273.)

[*Telegram*]

[*Aug. 6. 1873.*]

The Queen can not agree to either of the proposals for submitting proceedings of Courts Martial but as of late the present judge advocate generally submits them in writing the Queen will agree to the appointment of Ayrton with understanding that all proceedings are submitted in writing.

568 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

Aug. 6. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone in his haste this morning to supply Your Majesty with full particulars by the messenger respecting Mr. Ayrton had

not time to acknowledge as he now does with humble thanks and duty Your Majesty's letter of yesterday. The labours of the last few days have been incessant and the peculiarly invidious character of those labours has not unnaturally increased the strain ; but Mr. Gladstone has been well tended, and hopes to come through without breaking down. . . .

569

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

[Telegram]

7 Aug. 1873.

The Queen hopes it is quite understood that Ayrton as judge advocate is only to communicate in writing and never personally. . . .

570 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 275-6.)

Aug. 7. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty. Since he received Your Majesty's letter of last night he has carefully reviewed his position, but he regrets to say without result. He would gladly have spared Your Majesty the irksome duty of considering the changes now proposed, had it been in his power either on the one side to leave unnoticed the scandals which have occurred, or on the other to have tendered a general resignation or to advise a Dissolution of Parliament. There probably have been times, when the three gentlemen who, in their several positions, have been chiefly to blame, would have been summarily dismissed from Your Majesty's service. But on none of them could any ill intent be charged. Two of them had, among whatever errors of judgment, done much and marked good service to the state : and two of them were past 60 years of age. Mr. Gladstone could not under the circumstances resort to so severe a course without injustice and harshness, which Your Majesty would be the last to approve. The last embarrassment has been this : that all three have shown a tenacity of attachment to office certainly greater than is usual. And unfortunately the willingness of each person to quit or retain office, and still more their active desire, form a very great element in cases of this kind apart from the question how far the retention of it or its abandonment may on other grounds be desirable. As regards Lord Ripon, Mr. Gladstone

joins Your Majesty in greatly regretting the loss of such a man and such a colleague : but his desire for retirement was announced by him to Mr. Gladstone quite independently of the difficulties arising out of the recent exposures. Mr. Gladstone will be very glad if at any time, and if at any early time so much the better, his domestic cares and any possible opening in the Ministry should, together with the condition of political affairs, allow this loss to be retrieved. Lord Spencer has apprised Mr. Gladstone of his desire very shortly to lay down the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland : but Lord Ripon did not wish to entertain the question of taking that office, after the interval which would have remained at his disposal, and which might render him again available. Mr. Bright has agreed to return to office¹ with great reluctance and with high public spirit. There is no doubt that his return will be of great value to the Government. It is in Mr. Gladstone's view a great and palpable gain. Mr. Lowe will have in the Home Office the means of using his great powers, and an opportunity of avoiding the errors which have so seriously marred their effect. Should he fail to use that opportunity aright, the result cannot be doubtful, nor very long delayed.

With regard to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone sympathises but too much with the views which Your Majesty so kindly takes. But as at every step he has fortified himself by what was presumably the best advice, so in this case he has in truth yielded to that advice, and to the opinion that this arrangement may be of some advantage to the Government under the present circumstances. As respects Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Gladstone much regrets that the extreme pressure of time (at the moment when all men were separating and flying in all directions) led him to use the Telegraph and thus to waive explanations or suggestions which he would otherwise have presumed to offer. Mr. Gladstone trusts that the transfer as it is now offered to Mr. Ayrton may in the aggregate be of some advantage so far as it affects Your Majesty. Mr. Gladstone has only been able this morning to learn that Mr. Ayrton is at Ryde, to which place he has dispatched a Messenger. Mr. Gladstone hopes that these remarks may in some degree explain to Your Majesty the conclusion at which he arrives. Should Your Majesty be pleased to allow him to proceed, it would be of great utility if Your Majesty could let him know by Telegram

¹ As Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

this afternoon, and could appoint a day for the Council which it will be necessary to hold. It will also be of great advantage and convenience if the Council can be not later than Saturday. Mr. Gladstone has told Lord Ripon that he would communicate to him the time, should Your Majesty think that the most convenient opportunity for his taking his leave.

571

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Aug. 7. 1873.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his full & explicit letters. —She sees all his difficulties & trusts that the present arrangements may answer but she feels doubtful of Mr. Lowe.

It is *no* fault of the Queen's that Mr. Gladstone did not receive the answer sooner. The Times with its usual impudence and impertinence has she learns (for she will not *read* such stuff) thought fit to give her a lesson in consequence, on *expedition & punctuality*.

572

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. [Circa Aug. 26. 1873.]

The Queen hopes Mr. Gladstone is better—but he shld keep vy quiet today.

If he feels at all equal to it—perhaps the Queen c^{ld} see him at ½ p. 3.

573 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

BALMORAL. Aug. 27. 1873.

Your Majesty's extreme kindness on all occasions to Mr. Gladstone and his family emboldens him to apprise Your Majesty in his wife's name and his own that their eldest daughter Agnes has just engaged herself to be married to Mr. Wickham, a clergyman of the highest character and considerable distinction at Oxford, who has recently been appointed to the Headmastership of Wellington College. There appears to be every prospect that this union will be a happy one.

574

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Aug. 27. 1873.

The Queen hastens to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter, & to wish him & Mrs. Gladstone most sincerely joy of the engagement of their eldest daughter to Mr. Wickham.

May she be as happy as she deserves to be—& may this hope in some measure make up for the loss the Queen feels sure she will be to himself & Mrs. Gladstone.

Pray offer the Queen's warmest congratulations to their daughter Agnes whom she has known from her childhood, & in whose welfare she will ever take a sincere interest.

575 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. 28 Aug. 1873.

The Queen sends an Indian Shawl as a Wedding gift for Agnes who was a playfellow of our eldest girls—& w^h she w^{ld} ask Mr. Gladstone to take to her.

She likewise sends Mr. Gladstone for his acceptance in case he sh^{ld} not have got it, a work of some interest, the original Drawings of w^h are all in the Queen's own possession.

The lithographs & especially the colouring are unfortunately not as good as they promised to be, but the accounts written by Miss MacGregor (first cousin to the Duke of Atholl & who also resides with the Dow^r Dess & is a very clever person) are really v^y interesting & will, the Queen thinks afford Mr. Gladstone some reading. The simple records of the people themselves, the Queen thinks, too are interesting.

Several of our own people are amongst them as he will perceive.

A much smaller & cheaper edition merely with Photographs of the Drawings has since been published.

576 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

BALMORAL. Aug. 28. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone acknowledges with his humble duty and grateful thanks Your Majesty's kindness and condescension in the beautiful presents for his daughter Agnes and himself which he has just received. He is sure however that Agnes will not be able to restrain herself from returning her own thanks to Your Majesty. . . .

577 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. September 5. 1873.

It was very good of you to send me so interesting an account of your walk, which increases the regret I feel at not having been able to accompany you.

To us down here the Sources of the Dee sound as inaccessible as the sources of the Nile. The Queen however says she has been there on her way to Ben Macdui. . . .

Hartington has arrived and immediately went out fishing but caught nothing. . . .

I deeply regret your departure, for there is no one here who walks so well or so pleasantly as you do.

578

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. Oct. 3. 1873.

The Queen must again bring most seriously & earnestly before Mr. Gladstone & the Cabinet the very alarming & serious state of the railways. Every day almost something occurs & every body trembles for their friends & for every one's life.

The Messenger has been (since the accident to the bridge was completely repaired) repeatedly several hours late; the post never comes in, 2 days running at the same time; trains arriving in Edinburgh & London are 2-3 hours late. In short it has come to that *pass* that the Govt *must* consider what penalties & restrictions can be devised by Parlt to ensure safety to life. If some people were punished for manslaughter who neglect their duties—or if a Director was bound to go with the Trains we shld soon see a different state of things! There *must* be fewer Trains,—the speed must be lessened to enable them to be stopped easily in case of danger & they must keep their time.

The ^{g^{test}} safety wd be however in having separate lines for luggage. This *ought* to be *insisted on*.

579 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. Oct. 4. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and reports that he was careful to read to the Cabinet this day Your Majesty's letter on Railway Legislation. The manner in which the Cabinet has gathered and again disperses precludes their considering at present the measure, which it may be right to submit to Parliament during the coming Session, but Your Majesty may be assured that the matter, difficult as it is, will be carefully

examined by Mr. Fortescue¹ and the Cabinet when they meet early next month. . . .

580 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. Nov. 12. 1873.

. . . Mr. Fortescue read to the Cabinet Your Majesty's recent letter respecting Railway Accidents; and some progress was made in considering the basis of a Memorandum on which he desires to proceed, as his first step, a communication to the Companies generally respecting what the Cabinet coinciding with Your Majesty feel to be a grave and serious state of this important subject. . . .

581 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. November 12. 1873.

Lord Odo Russell's² confidential telegram of the 9th of November to the effect that Prince Bismarck offered gold to the Bank of England has led the Queen to fear that the present Monetary Crisis is more serious than the papers allow. Her Majesty would be glad to hear from you whether you think it comes from any controllable causes and whether you fear any disastrous effects.

582 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

10, DOWNING STREET. Nov. 17. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty submits to Your Majesty that the Cabinet met to-day principally for the purpose of considering the dispatches from Sir G. Wolseley³ which, as Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to apprise Your Majesty—were expected to arrive by this Mail. They reached London about 1 o'clock and were found to contain accounts of the military operation successfully performed on the 18th October, expressions of the views with which he intended to proceed (partly contained in private letters) and a request for three battalions of European troops, together with the reasons for his demand, and for his belief that they may be sent without any serious danger to health, and re-embarked for their return by the 1st February, 1874. The impression made

¹ President of the Board of Trade.

² Ambassador at Berlin.

³ On the Ashanti expedition.

by these papers on the Cabinet was favourable, and tended to confirm its confidence in this gallant officer. They agreed to authorize the dispatch of the troops for which he had asked ; and they considered at some length the policy as well as the scope of the military measures to be favoured in Africa. The results of their discussion will be embodied in a dispatch or dispatches which will be sent off by the mail of next week after they shall have been duly approved. . . .

583

General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone

BALMORAL. 17 November. 1873.

I think The Queen would not be indisposed to consider the proposal to open the new Chelsea Embankment though of course she could enter into no engagement at present.

The Queen is anxious not to neglect other calls should there be any out of London (as she has repeatedly performed public acts in the Metropolis during the last few years) and Her Majesty would like to be left free to decide whether she could open the embankment or not till the time approaches.

Should The Queen find herself unable to be present, some of the Royal Family will represent Her Majesty. The day should be between the 3rd and 12th of May.

The Queen will probably have to inaugurate the Prince's Memorial in Edinburgh next year.

While writing to you, I will allude to another subject in case you may be interested to know what my impressions are with respect to the possibility of The Queen opening Parliament.

I think that Her Majesty was desirous to perform this ceremony but I fear that she now finds she will not be able to undertake it as The Queen will have to make great exertions in February or the very beginning of March for the arrival of the Duke of Edinburgh and his bride, besides some other engagements which may tax her strength. The Queen moreover dreads exposure to cold in full dress at that very inclement season.

I fear also that Prince Leopold's illness may detain Her Majesty here longer than usual and that she will therefore be later in going to Osborne. If she were to open Parliament she would have to travel backwards and forwards and this The Queen could not possibly do with all she has before her.

But as she therefore gives up the idea of opening Parliament Her Majesty might consequently be disposed to perform some other ceremonial later.

584 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Dec. 24. 1873.

. . . The Queen cannot conclude without wishing Mr. & Mrs. Gladstone many happy returns of the Season & especially to Agnes on the occasion of her marriage wh^h is *now* so near at hand.

585 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. December 25. 1873.

Although The Queen has already communicated with Lord Granville Her Majesty is also desirous of learning your opinion with reference to the offer made by the Emperor of Russia to name the Prince of Wales Proprietary Colonel of a Russian Regiment.

You will see by the enclosed which The Queen desires me to send you that the Prince Consort when a similar offer was made was advised to refuse it and did so though for private reasons he would have been anxious to have accepted the compliment ; and when the Emperor of Austria offered the Prince of Wales a Regiment it was thought right to decline it. The Queen fears that the nomination of British Princes to grades in foreign Armies would have a very bad effect here and there are obvious reasons why the appointment of the Prince of Wales to a Colonelcy by the Emperor of Russia might give rise to much misconception at the present moment.

(George IV was a Colonel of a Russian Regiment. W. E. G.)

ENCLOSURE ¹

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales

OSBORNE. Dec. 23. 1873.

. . . With respect to The Emperor of Russia's offer of a Regiment I had no doubt myself as to its not being advisable for you to accept it. But I consulted Lord Granville before answering you who entirely agrees. You will remember that the question

¹ Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 295.

occurred some years ago already when the Emperor of Austria thought of offering you one and it was not thought right to accept it. The same thing had been intended for dear Papa who wd have liked to accept it, but the Govt & everyone said that it wd be most unpopular in this country and he quite agreed. This precedent applies much more strongly to you who are not a German Prince as dear Papa was by birth, and it was refused then.

It can be no offence to the Emperor of Russia to say that it is not the custom to accept foreign Regiments in England and that though much flattered by the kind intention you cannot accept it.

It would be very unpopular here—besides one ought never to accept what one cannot return and I could never offer one of my Regiments to a Foreign Prince or Sovereign. Our Customs are totally different and I think we are far more independent without all these foreign honours. You will I am sure see this when you reflect on it. . . .

586 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. 25 Dec. 1873.

The Queen does not at all like the idea of the Russian Regiment. The Prince of Wales is very eager for it. She does not think George IV a good precedent to follow. . . .

The Queen desires me to say she would be glad of an answer at your earliest convenience about the Russian Regiment.

587 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Ponsonby*

[Telegram]

[26th Dec. 1873.]

As regards the matter on which you desire an early answer I agree both in the substance and the terms of the extract from a letter which you send me.

588 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

HAWARDEN. Dec. 26. 1873.

. . . Mr. Gladstone in humbly returning, on his wife and daughter's part as well as his own, Your Majesty's most kind wishes for Christmas and the New Year, again expresses his very grateful sense of the interest Your Majesty has been pleased to take in Agnes' marriage. All that he has now seen, as well as heard, of the Bridegroom fills him with the anticipation of its

being a happy and blessed union. He has had the greatest reason to be touched with the feeling which has been shown on this occasion towards his daughter by all descriptions of friends and neighbours, including, last but scarcely least, the cottagers and poor among whom, he is happy to say, she is personally well known.

589 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 297.)

HAWARDEN. Dec. 31. 1873.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty, has to express to Your Majesty his concern on finding that without his knowledge, expectation, or authority, some words spoken by him on the day of his daughter's marriage, and including a reference to Your Majesty's condescending kindness and that of the King and Queen of the Belgians, should have found their way into the public journals. They were spoken in a private room at the Rectory of Hawarden, to a company consisting exclusively (except a few members of the family) of what he may term cottage-neighbours: to them many things could be freely said, after their presence at the Church in the morning, which could not be freely or becomingly said to the public, or for the public; there was no permission given to any reporter to enter and none was known to be there. Mr. Gladstone fears that the whole, taken out of its proper atmosphere, must read like a piece of Pharisaism and vulgarity; and though his intention was simply to point his acknowledgment of the kindness of the poor and lowly by reference to Your Majesty's kindness, he now humbly apologises to Your Majesty for that which being published bears in his opinion an unseemly aspect; so that he cannot forbear troubling Your Majesty though almost ashamed to do it, with these words of explanation. He is sure Your Majesty will receive them indulgently, and without notice.

590

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 2. 1874.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his Letter, & can assure him that there was nothing in his Speech on the occasion of the late interesting family event at Hawarden to wh^h she c^{ld} take the

vy *slightest* exception. He only stated the *truth* as regards *herself* & his dear daughter.—But she *does* think it *v*^y hard & *v*^y wrong that a family *party* of a comparatively private nature shld have every detail published in the Papers.

The Queen hopes that they have good accounts of Mr. & Mrs. Wickham & concludes by wishing himself & family a vy happy New Year.

591

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Jan. 17. 1874.

The Queen is anxious to draw Mr. Gladstone's attention to the possibility of changes taking place in the War Office as she understands that both Mr. Vivian the Permanent Under Sec^y & Sir Henry Storks, the Surveyor General are in very indifferent health, & that one or both of them may be unable to resume the duties of their offices. Should any change be necessary the Queen wld wish to impress on Mr. Gladstone the expediency of selecting gentlemen to fill these 2 important offices who not only wld be agreeable to the Sec^y of State, but also wld act *harmoniously* with the Commander in Chief.¹ The position of the Surveyor General, if he is to be a Military Officer of rank is one of peculiar delicacy, attached as he is to the Sec^y of State, yet necessarily called on to give his opinion on matters connected with the duties of the Commander in Chief. The Queen regretted that it was considered necessary to make this office a Parliamentary one & wld now draw Mr. Gladstone's attention to this for time to consider whether the Office cld not be non-Political.

Surely an officer of rank & experience might be found, who wld satisfactorily perform the duties without being a political partizan.

The position of the Permanent Under Sec^y is also one of great importance & the Queen is sure that Mr. Gladstone attaches *as much value* as she does to the *importance* of rendering the working of the 2 departments by wh the affairs of the Army are administered, *harmonious*.

The Queen wld ask Mr. Gladstone to consider this Communication as *private & confidential* & to be very careful in making use of it.

¹ The Duke of Cambridge.

592 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

DOWNING STREET. Jan. 17. 1874.

Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive Your Majesty's letter relating to possible changes in certain offices of the War Department. He will be careful to observe Your Majesty's caution with respect to any use to be made of that letter—and he need hardly add that he will anxiously bear in mind the important subject of harmony in the working of the War Department, to which it relates, on all occasions that may arise. He is very doubtful, however, whether it would be practicable to diminish the Parliamentary strength of the Department, and whether such a diminution would not be met with disfavour on both sides of the House. He has not yet had any intimation from Mr. Cardwell of the likelihood of these changes.

593 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 302.)

OSBORNE. Jan: 20. 1874.

Before signing this the Queen wishes to say that she trusts that Mr. Wesley has no leaning towards High Church views?

She knows nothing whatever of him but the progress of these alarming romanizing observances has become *so serious* of late, the young Clergy seem so tainted with these totally *Anti-protestant* doctrines, & are so selfwilled & defiant that the Queen thinks it absolutely necessary to point out the importance [of] avoiding any important Appointments & Preferments in the Church wh *have* ANY leaning that way—The Queen has had conversations with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bp of Winchester & other Clergymen & *all* speak with alarm of the state of the Church—w^b the Archbishop thinks in gt danger of being upset if things go on as they do now.

Protestant to the very *heart's core* as the Queen is—she is shocked & grieved to see England forgetting her position & the higher classes & so many of the young Clergy tainted with this leaning towards Rome! for it is nothing else.—

The Queen urged the Archbishop to propose to the Govt some means by w^b—*assisted* by the laity—the Bishop shld have the power of checking practices which are most dangerous & objection-

able & totally foreign to the spirit & former usages of the English Church—but w^h at present they have *no power* to stop.

The Queen must *most earnestly* urge the consideration & she hopes adoption of a proposal to Parliament of some such measure as the Archbishop will, she knows, propose.

The Queen must speak *openly* & therefore wishes to say that she thinks this especially necessary on the part of Mr. Gladstone who is *supposed* to have *rather* a bias towards High Church views himself—but the danger of w^h she feels sure he cannot fail to recognise.

594 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 303-4.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, Jan. 21. 1874.

Mr. Gladstone having unhappily been confined to his bed by a tightness of the chest, threatening, if neglected, a bronchial attack and serious interruption of his occupations, was unable to make any report on Monday of the proceedings of the Cabinet in which, however, there appears to have been nothing requiring at the moment special notice from Your Majesty. He feels it, however, to be necessary at this juncture to place briefly, and most humbly but not less earnestly, before Your Majesty his views of the present position of the Government and of political affairs. Your Majesty is aware with how much reluctance, and with what anticipations of difficulty, the Cabinet resumed office in March last after their defeat on the Irish University Bill, and after the refusal or failure of the opposition since, as well as previously, pursued in the House of Commons, and by the rejection of their measures on several occasions by the House of Lords, but, it is fair to add, by the ordinarily unfavourable results of a prolonged series of single elections in different parts of the country, which has given countenance and plausibility to the allegation that the majority of the present House of Commons does not correctly represent the opinion of the people at large. It has even become a matter of much difficulty, and some hazard, to fill the official posts in the House of Commons—in an efficient manner from the amount of uncertainty prevailing as to particular seats. And the circumstances, to which Mr. Gladstone has referred, have assumed a graver character from month to month, down to the present period. At the same time, one of the usual constitutional

resources seems to be cut off. Mr. Gladstone has felt, in concurrence with what has fallen from Your Majesty respecting the proceedings of last March, that the Cabinet could not ask Your Majesty to make another attempt at the formation of a new Government from the party in opposition, until after having advised that there should be a Dissolution of the present Parliament, in order to ascertain, in the most authentic manner, the disposition of the nation to continue or withdraw the confidence which it has heretofore placed in Your Majesty's actual advisers. The time has now arrived when it has become possible to forecast, in a considerable degree, the business of the coming Session, and the demands which it will make on the strength of the Ministry. The Finance of the year is likely to be of extreme importance. It may even probably embrace the abolition of the Income Tax. It is certain to impose much labour and responsibility. In Mr. Gladstone's opinion, among the circumstances which are occurring among the constituencies almost from week to week, the calls which it is likely to make, are such as would require on the part of the Government a degree of strength and authority which without some renovating process it cannot reasonably hope to possess. After a Dissolution they would either find themselves armed with a more recent and available declaration of national confidence, or they might give way to others who might have acquired that confidence in their stead. As the time remaining before the 5th February is now very short, Mr. Gladstone, mindful of Your Majesty's commands on a former occasion, desires humbly to apprise Your Majesty that he will feel it to be his duty to bring this subject before his colleagues on Friday, when they will again assemble, and when he hopes they may all be present. He will then recommend to them that they should humbly and dutifully advise Your Majesty to anticipate by a very few months what is likely to happen before the year is far advanced, and to dissolve the present Parliament as the best means of relieving not only both the great political parties, but even in some degree Your Majesty and the country, from the disadvantage and the weakness of a false position. And unless Your Majesty shall see cause to differ essentially from such a view of affairs as Mr. Gladstone has given, he trusts that, having regard to the important consideration and urgency of time, Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to assent to it.

There may be other courses open, but Mr. Gladstone has not been able to discern any satisfactory alternative. He would have prayed for an audience of Your Majesty, but that, after three days of close confinement to bed, he fears the journey:

595 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

OSBORNE. 22 Jan. 1874.

Hope you are better.

596 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 306.)

OSBORNE. Jan. 22. 1874.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's letter with some surprise as she understood from what he said to her at Windsor & wrote to her only the other day that he did not think of recommending a Dissolution till near the *end* of the Session & *possibly* not even *till next year*!

The Queen fears that this sudden determination taken on the eve of the Meeting of Parliament may be considered by some persons as a sign of weakness on the part of the Government. But the Queen fully appreciates the difficulties of Mr. Gladstone's position & sh^{ld} there be no public business which requires the immediate attention of Parliament will readily consent to its Dissolution as she thinks that in the present circumstances it will be desirable to obtain an expression of the National opinion.—

Pray inform the Queen by cipher tomorrow of the result of the Cabinet.

597 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 306-10.)

Jan. 22. 1874.

Mr. Gladstone takes the earliest opportunity at his command of submitting, together with his humble duty, the reply which Your Majesty will justly expect to the general observations contained in Your Majesty's gracious letter of the 20th. Those observations had reference to the present excesses of Ritualism in the Church of England: and they bore practically upon the two subjects first of legislation, secondly of patronage. With regard to the first of these, namely legislation, Mr. Gladstone can venture

upon assuring Your Majesty that proposals of this kind, proceeding from the Archbishop of Canterbury, will be entertained with the utmost respect by Your Majesty's advisers. On three or four separate occasions, the Archbishop, supported by the body of the Episcopate and as Mr. Gladstone believes of the Church at large, has recommended to the Government legislative measures for the benefit of the Church ; and on every one of these occasions, if his memory serves him rightly, His Grace's proposals have been accepted by the Government, and bills have been carried through both Houses without any deviation from the basis which he had recommended. Mr. Gladstone however must in candour add that it has only been by extreme care, and by very great effort, that this result has been attained, so far as he has been practically conversant with the case, that is to say in the House of Commons. In truth it is just possible, and no more, to carry Bills upon which the authorities of the Church are united, and when they are also sustained by the great body of the reasonable and enlightened men within the Church, clerical and lay. Even this is much, for practically it had hardly been attempted for 150 years, or more, preceding our own time. But Mr. Gladstone is entirely convinced that this union of sentiment among reasonable men in the Church is a condition absolutely necessary to the success of such attempts at legislation ; and that, if the violent internal controversies, which so greatly strain the framework of the Church when carried on within, were transferred to the floors of the two Houses, the probable, indeed the almost certain end would be the total banishment of the subject from the Parliamentary arena, by the disestablishment of the Church itself. Mr. Gladstone is aware that by Authorities of great weight this, or some other positive rupture is expected as the consequence of the existing uneasiness and strife. As one of these authorities he may mention the Bishop of Rochester,¹ in a recent charge : and Your Majesty appears to cite, in the same sense, the Archbishop of Canterbury.² Mr. Gladstone feels no surprise at these alarms, and is not himself wholly free from them. More than thirty years ago, he was very greatly under their influence. Now, with advancing years, not usually more sanguine, he is even more deeply struck with the tenacious vitality of the Church of England (which Dr. Döllinger, in a masterly survey, declares to be the most powerful National Church in Christendom), than with its serious

¹ Bishop Cloughton.

² Archbishop Tait.

dangers, and its unquestionably great and grievous scandals : and he is inclined to believe that wisdom and gentleness (much in the spirit of a recent declaration of the Bishop of Exeter¹), steady respect for the laws and spirit of the Church and the careful choice of the best men for offices of influence and power, may under Providence both avert a crisis, and lead to the gradual mitigation of the evils which abound. He does not, however, by any means exclude from view legislative remedies of an appropriate kind for specific mischiefs. Your Majesty will then perceive that Mr. Gladstone by no means undervalues the question of the Patronage of the Crown, to which he now turns. And first he humbly offers his thanks for the very mild and circumspect terms of the allusion to himself. It is indeed true, not only that he is supposed by some "to have rather a leaning to High Church views," but that he is from time to time denounced, in some quarters, as a Ritualist, as a Papist, and also as a Rationalist. He bears in silence the ascription to him of these or any other names, for he has perfect confidence in the general good-sense of his countrymen, but he never has at any time assumed for himself, or admitted rightly to belong to him, any designation whatever in religion ; in as much as the voluntary assumption of such designations would compromise (in his opinion) what he cherishes as the first of earthly blessings, his mental freedom. But he is certain that Your Majesty does him the justice to believe that he has not at any time regulated his recommendations to Your Majesty, in matters of Ecclesiastical Patronage, by so poor and unworthy a standard as his own impressions or belief in religion. He has endeavoured, from first to last, to make merit the passport to the Royal favour ; and among all the various elements and kinds of merit, he has never forgotten, or will forget, or knowingly pass by, that of loyal fidelity to the laws and institutions of the Church of England, such as the people of England know it, and love it, and such as the Reformation of the Church and its after-history have made it. There are, he does not doubt, a considerable number of persons among the clergy (whose case alone is now under view), having a bad title either legal or moral to the position which they hold. Your Majesty refers with perfect justice to the excesses of those, whose doings have brought them most into the public eye. There are others in respect to whom the mischief, less apparent, is more subtle.

¹ *Bishop Temple.*

There is not a doubt that a certain number of clergymen not only deny the Authority of the Holy Scriptures and of the Church whose Ministers they are, but disbelieve the Deity of our Saviour, His Incarnation, and His Resurrection. Mr. Gladstone reserves his judgment as to the wisdom of searching out all these classes of persons, to expel them from their places, but he holds them all to be altogether beyond the limits from within which alone it is his duty to recommend to Your Majesty with a view to ecclesiastical preferment. Amidst the pain and apprehension caused by these extremes, which engender and exasperate one another, he has often to remind himself, and he even presumes to remind Your Majesty, by way of consolation, of that which he believes to be as indisputable as it is creditable. For centuries past there has not been a time of so much practical and hearty work, so much earnest preaching, so much instruction and consolation given, so much affectionate care for the poor and for the young. These are great and solid comforts, with enduring consequences, although they undoubtedly ought not to produce an indifference to present evils, and to the means of effecting their mitigation. Mr. Gladstone concludes with expressing his fear lest the length of this letter should cause Your Majesty to repent having drawn it forth by the freedom and kindness of the letter of the 20th.

598 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Life of Gladstone*, II, 485-7.)

10, DOWNING STREET. 23 Jan. 1874.

. . . Mr. Gladstone laid before the Cabinet a pretty full outline of the case, as to the weakness of the Government since the crisis of last March, and the increase of that weakness, especially of late, from the unfavourable character of local indications: as to the false position in which both the Crown and the House of Commons are placed when there can be no other Government than the one actually existing: finally as to the present calls of business and prospects of the country, especially as to its finance, which are such as in Mr. Gladstone's judgment to warrant the presentation of a very favourable picture of what may be effected, with energy and prudence, during the present year. In this picture is included, as Mr. Gladstone on Wednesday intimated might be the case, the total repeal of the Income Tax. The Cabinet unanimously concurred, upon a review of its grounds, in

the wisdom of the proposed measure. It is as yet profoundly secret, but to-morrow morning it will be placed before the world with a lengthened and elaborate exposition, in the shape of an address from Mr. Gladstone to his constituents at Greenwich. There can be no doubt that a large portion of the public will at first experience that emotion of surprise, which Your Majesty so very naturally felt on receiving Mr. Gladstone's letter. But, judging from such indications as have reached them, the Cabinet are disposed to anticipate that this course will be approved by all those who are in any degree inclined to view their general policy with sympathy or favour. Large portions, and the most important portions, of Mr. Gladstone's address, were read to and considered by the Cabinet, and it was in some respect amended at the suggestion of his esteemed colleagues. It is however so framed as not to commit them equally with himself, except only as to the remissions of Taxes, and aid to Local Rates, contemplated in the Finance of the year. This method of stating generally the case of the Government in substance corresponds to the proceedings of Sir R. Peel in 1834-5, when he addressed the electors of Tamworth. Before concluding, Mr. Gladstone will humbly offer to Your Majesty a brief explanation. When he last adverted to the duration of the present Parliament, his object was to remind Your Majesty of the extreme point to which that duration might extend. When he had the honour of seeing Your Majesty at Windsor, the course of the local elections had been more favourable, and Mr. Gladstone had not abandoned the hope of retaining sufficient strength for the due conduct of affairs in the present House. On this question, the events of the last few weeks and the prospects of the present moment have somewhat tended to turn the scale in his mind and that of his colleagues. But finally it was not within his power, until the fourth quarter of the financial year had well begun, to forecast the financial policy and measures which form a necessary and indeed the most vital part of the matter to be stated to the public. Immediately after he had been able sufficiently to ripen his own thoughts on the matter, he did not scruple to lay them before Your Majesty ; and Your Majesty had Yourself in one sense contributed to the present conclusion by forcibly pointing out to Mr. Gladstone on one or more occasions that in the event of difficulty, under the present peculiar circumstances, no alternative remained except a Dissolution. The mild

weather is very favourable to Mr. Gladstone, and if as he has prayed there shall be a Council on Monday he hopes to have the honour of coming down to Osborne.

599 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. Jan. 24. 1874.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his 2 long letters. The one in answer to hers on the Church—the other respecting the Dissolution.—

Will it not be vy tiring for him to go & come back the same day? Would he not prefer sleeping here on Monday?

But vy likely he may have a gt deal to do with reference to the Election.

600 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

OSBORNE. 25 Jan. 1874.

The Queen intends asking you to stay here when you come to-morrow till Tuesday.

601 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

[Telegram]

OSBORNE. 25th Jan. 1874.

The intention was to save you fatigue of double journey but the Queen wishes you to do what you like.

602 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 6 Feb. 1874.

Mr. Gladstone . . . humbly states that he refrained from troubling Your Majesty with any speculation of his own on the Elections, so long as that issue still appeared to be uncertain : but he thinks it his duty at the present date to apprise Your Majesty firstly that upon the actual balance of this morning the Conservative or Opposition Party is now in a very small majority ; and secondly that in all likelihood the aggregate result of the Elections not yet concluded, or not yet announced, will be to increase that majority. It will not be possible for nearly a week to appreciate the final balance exactly ; and Mr. Gladstone abstains not only from any observations on the causes of a result which

appears to be beyond the previous expectation of either party, but likewise from any reference to the future, which involves important matters of precedent, constitutional principle and honour; and which Your Majesty's Servants may find themselves hardly in a position to consider until the Elections shall have reached their close.

603

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 8. 1874.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter wh she was glad to receive as she had been anxious to hear from him.—

She will not, as Mr. Gladstone does not do so, enter on the subject of the course he intends to pursue,—but naturally she will be glad to be informed, whenever he can do so—of what he is likely to propose to her.—

The turn the Elections have taken has certainly surprised the Queen, tho' she did not expect the Government w^{ld} gain by a Dissolution.—

The Queen will see Mr. Forster¹ tomorrow & perhaps Mr. Gladstone may see him before he comes down. . . .

604 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 9 Feb. 1874.

Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty regrets that as he only received Your Majesty's gracious letter late last night, he is not likely to have an opportunity of seeing Mr. Forster to-day before he goes to Osborne. Mr. Forster is the only member of the Cabinet who has had what may fairly be called a triumph at his election; but it is a triumph highly significant of that which has been one main cause of the defeat of the Liberal Party, namely the differences which have sprung up with the Protestant Nonconformists, in regard to Education. The Irish, or Roman Catholic vote has been greatly divided. The most powerfully operating cause has been the combined and costly action of the Publicans; except in the North, where, from their more masculine character, the people are not so easily manageable. In and about the Metropolis there certainly appears to have been also a change of political

¹ Vice-President of the Council.

sentiment in the shape of dislike to the Government, if not of attachment to their opponents. The estimates of all parties have proved erroneous, the prevailing public expectation of the opposition seems to have been a minority of 20 (instead of 60) but their agents of the inner circle may have been better informed. There are still many elections to be determined. Mr. Gladstone has invited the Cabinet to dinner this day week, and then, or possibly sooner, the situation of affairs may be considered. Mr. Gladstone's personal impression is that the principles of the constitution and the course of precedent (setting aside the very exceptional case of 1868¹) require or recommend that the administration should abide the judgment of Parliament. But he has no sufficient means of knowing what his colleagues may think, and, with his own personal views as to the future, he will be especially bound to submit himself to their judgment.

605 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*

(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 316-17.)

II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE. 13 Feb. 1874.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, has only to report to Your Majesty at this moment that the adverse verdict of the country has within the last few days become more and more emphatic. In his last letter, Mr. Gladstone did not scruple to state the bias of his mind with respect to the question whether the expiring Government should await its sentence from the Parliament by meeting it while in the possession of office. He has no doubt whatever that this course is the one most agreeable to usage, and to the rules of Parliamentary Government ; and that any departure from it can only be justified upon grounds in their nature exceptional. He is not however clear in the conviction that this case also may prove, like that of 1868, to be one which should be treated by way of exception : partly because prevalent opinion, as well as abstract ideas, may in such cases properly be taken into view ; partly because it should be considered what is fair to an incoming Administration, with reference to the arrangement of the business, especially the financial business, of the year. . . .

¹ Disraeli resigned without meeting Parliament in 1868.

606

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Partly printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 317.)

OSBORNE. Feb. 14. 1874.

The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter of yesterday.—

As she understands that Mr. Gladstone will meet his Colleagues on Monday she w^{ld} be ready to see Mr. Gladstone on Tuesday at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5 or 6 at Windsor.

She thinks that whatever advantage there may be in adhering to usage & precedent, that it is counterbalanced by the disadvantage of nearly 3 weeks delay, for the Country & the public Service.

But there is one other great consideration which Mr. Gladstone does not seem to have remembered—viz : the arrival of the Duke & D^{cess} of Edinburgh bringing with it Fêtes etc. just when Parlt meets—w^h w^{ld} make it *physically impossible* for the Queen, (who has not been strong or well at all lately & is g^{thly} overworked & fagged) to go thro' *all* the necessary fatigue accompanying a change of Govt. w^h, had it not been for the Dissolution w^{ld} not have taken place at this moment. People are apt to forget as she told Mr. Gladstone the other day, that the Queen is *a woman*—who has far more on her hands & far more to try mind & body than is good for *any one* of her sex & age.

She will prefer not giving her opinion on the proposed honours till Mr. Gladstone can put all those before her, w^h he intends to do.

607

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. 16 Feb. 1874.

The Queen has rec^d Mr. Gladstone's Letter of yesterday.

It will be quite time enough if she receives his proposals for honours by tomorrow's Post.—She has no doubt that the anxieties & interest of these past 2 weeks must have prevented his remembering that the Queen's time will be *entirely* taken up with the young Couple, from the 7th March when they arrive for the next week or 10 days. A large Banquet on the 9th ; going into London on the 12th—A Court on the 13th specially for the young Duchess of Edinburgh, returning to Windsor on the 14th.—The Emp^r & Emp^{ress} having recommended their Daughter so specially

to her care—the Queen's time will be much taken up with her—& it is *all this* that the Queen alluded to.—

Mr. Tennyson's case is a special one, w^h the Queen w^{ld} of course be at any time ready to consider.

608 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 17. 1874.

The Queen in returning these submissions to Mr. Gladstone with her approval adds her approval of Mr. Hammond & Sir I. Freemantle for Peerages & of the 2 other Baronetcies.

She wishes likewise to record her offer to Mr. Gladstone himself of a mark of her recognition of his services—w^h however he declines from motives w^h she fully appreciates.

609 *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. Feb. 18. 1874.

The Queen has just seen Mr. Disraeli who has undertaken to form a Govt.

There is an *honour* w^h the Queen omitted mentioning to Mr. Gladstone yesterday w^h is whether Lord Sydney,¹ who has served the Queen long & ably—might not be offered a *step* in the Peerage.

He fully deserves it.

¹ Lord Chamberlain.

OPPOSITION, 1874-9.

610 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. 16 Oct. 1874.

I gave the Photograph enclosed by you to The Queen together with your message and am commanded by Her Majesty to thank you for your kind expressions and to let you know that she has kept the Photograph which she is glad you have sent her. At the same time I do not think she wishes to see the picture and I will write to Mr. Hughes to tell him so, which will save you any further trouble on the subject.

I am glad to hear you have been doing some Alpine walks. Without indiscretion I think I may say that from what I have seen, the present Government is not as strong on its legs as yours was. At any rate the 3 ministers who have been here never walked a yard and tho' perhaps Lord Derby could; he lived at Abergeldie and I never saw him except when he dined here. . . .

611 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. 20 Oct. 1874.

I have given to The Queen your message about the Duchess of Edinburgh¹ and am commanded by Her Majesty to thank you and Mrs. Gladstone for your kind congratulations. . . .

Her Majesty is just now much occupied with Charles Greville's memoirs and rather annoyed with the manner in which her predecessors and Uncles are treated. .

612 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. November 5. 1874.

Whenever your interesting publication² (as it must be) comes I will give it to The Queen and will let you know I have done so.

¹ A son was born to the Duchess of Edinburgh on October 15, 1874.

² *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance : a Political Expostulation.*

613 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

BALMORAL. November 7. 1874.

I am commanded by The Queen to thank you for having sent to Her Majesty your Pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance.

614 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. 17 Dec. 1874.

I am commanded by The Queen to thank you for the letter you have written to Her Majesty.

The Queen desires me to ask if you could kindly let her know what you remember about Mr. Tennyson's baronetcy.¹ The Queen had several communications with you on the subject, and approved your proposal in March 1873 to confer that honor upon him.

Her Majesty does not know how it ended, except that he is not a baronet.

615 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. 22 Dec. 1874.

The Queen commands me to thank you for the account of what took place as regards Mr. Tennyson's baronetcy which she now remembers much to the same effect as you record it.

The Queen knows that Mr. Martin has sent you his book—"Life of the Prince Consort."

Her Majesty hopes that you have received it and will like it. The Queen thinks it is very well done.

616 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. 1 January. 1875.

The Queen has kept your letter and seemed much pleased with the interest you showed in the book² and the criticisms you made upon it. . . .

¹ Disraeli was proposing a Baronetcy for Tennyson and G.C.B. for Carlyle (*Life of Disraeli*, V. 355-6). Gladstone had proposed a Baronetcy for Tennyson in March, 1873.

² Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*.

617 (*Copy*) *Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria*(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 371-2.)

HAWARDEN. Jan. 21. 1875.

It is not without hesitation that Mr. Gladstone perhaps for the last time submits his humble duty to Your Majesty, but he is unable to withhold the expression of his deep sympathy with Your Majesty under the trial of H.R.H. the Prince Leopold's illness, which commands all his feelings alike from long recollection and most dutiful regard to Your Majesty, and from the interest which it would be unnatural for him not to feel in a Prince of so much mind, character, and promise. These sentiments he humbly desires to express also on his wife's behalf to Your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone has been for some days restrained by fear of presumption from saying to Your Majesty a single word with reference to a recent change in his position as a Member of Parliament, which has been mentioned in the public journals.¹ But he prefers incurring this risk, to what might on the other hand wear the aspect of ingratitude to Your Majesty for all the marks of kindness and goodness which he has received.

He desires simply to assure Your Majesty, that so long as powers of action are mercifully granted to him, he will never plead his relief from ordinary political responsibility as a reason for avoiding his duties in Parliament so often as any case shall occur which shall touch either Your Majesty personally, or the Royal Family or the interests of the Throne, bound up as these are with the welfare of the country, and in which it may appear to lie within the power or hope to render any useful service.

He humbly prays Your Majesty to pardon his burdening you with the receipt of this letter and as he has had occasion to write it, he cannot close without expressing his profound concern and indeed more than concern, at what Your Majesty cannot but have felt, in connection with some of the parts of a recent publication.*

618 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

OSBORNE. January 23. 1875.

I have sent your letter in to The Queen. . . .

I cannot say I was surprised at your late resolve but I was startled when I read the correspondence.

¹ Resignation of the Liberal leadership.^{*} Greville's *Journals*.

Although it is natural that a leader who has led his not too submissive followers to victory and secured place and prosperity for his Country, should withdraw from that post when they are in their peaceful encampment, it is also natural that the soldiers now recognizing his value more than ever, should lament the loss of such a General and regard their future with apprehension.

619

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone(Printed in *Letters of Queen Victoria*, (2) II, 377-8.)

OSBORNE. Jan. 31. 1875.

The Queen must thank Mr. Gladstone for his kind letter of the 21st & for his inquiries after poor P^{ce} Leopold who has been a cause of great anxiety to us ever since the 21st of Dec: But he passed through the typhoid fever most easily & without one bad symptom, so that this terrible attack of hemorrhage coming on just when he was considered quite convalescent, was doubly distressing.

Thank God! he is now going on very favourably & has shown his usual great vitality.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for communicating to her his resolution of retiring from the more active duties of Parliamentary life for which she was not entirely unprepared after what he told her himself last year.

She knows that his zeal & untiring energy have always been exerted with the desire of advancing the welfare of the Nation & maintaining the honor of the Crown, and she thanks him for his loyal assurances of support on all occasions when it may become necessary.

The Queen was sure that Mr. Gladstone would be shocked at that horrible book,¹ to which he alludes. Her dear Husband's Life,² so pure & bright presents a favourable & useful contrast to this most scandalous publication.

620

General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone

OSBORNE. Feb. 26. 1875.

The Queen has commanded me to thank you for sending Her Majesty a copy of your Pamphlet "Vaticanism."³

¹ Greville's *Journals*.² Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*.³ *Vaticanism: an Answer to Replies and Reproofs*.

621 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*

WINDSOR CASTLE. July 10. 1875.

... I repeated to Her Majesty as well as I could what you had said about the picture. She was delighted and said she considered your opinion a really valuable one as you were an excellent judge of Art. She told me that Dean Stanley had also liked the picture.

622 (Copy) *Mr. Gladstone to General Ponsonby*

HAWARDEN CASTLE. CHESTER. Apr. 21. 1876.

Although at a distressing moment, I have thought it right, on perceiving the discussions in the papers of yesterday,¹ to address the letter of which I enclose a copy, to the Editor of the Observer.

I request you to make it known, together with my most humble duty, to Her Majesty.

I am not certain that I have done right. The whole matter is of extreme delicacy, at least in the eyes of those who believe as I do that all introduction of the personal action of the Queen into our public discussions is in a high degree injurious to the stability of the Throne itself, and to its dignity. I am unwilling therefore in any way to recognise such reference. On the other hand I feel that to represent Her Majesty as reverting to one Minister after another for a purpose of the kind in question is disparaging to Her Majesty's name and fame: and that if the injurious effect is to be removed it cannot be done (so far as occurs to me) upon Her own authority. I have therefore acted in some doubt but to the best of my judgment.

ENCLOSURE

*Mr. Gladstone to the Editor of the "Observer"*²

HAWARDEN CASTLE. CHESTER. Apr. 21. [1876.]

It was rumoured some little time back that Her Majesty had been pleased to suggest to two late Prime Ministers the proposal which has now been embodied in the Royal Titles Bill. To the best

¹ As to the title of Empress of India conferred on the Queen by the Royal Titles Bill.

² Published April 23, 1876.

of my belief, I was not named as one of them ; and, for reasons which seem to me important, I thought it better to take no notice of an unauthenticated report, which might at once die away. Further attention has, however, been given to the matter within the last few days ; and, although I deem that the merits of the question cannot in the smallest degree depend upon the truth or untruth of any such allegation, I think it is my duty to state, so far as I am myself concerned, that neither this nor any similar suggestion was mentioned to me by Her Majesty during the time when I had the honour to be in her service.

623

*General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*BALMORAL. *September 7. 1876.*

I received your pamphlet,¹ which you have been kind enough to send me, at an early hour this morning, and knowing how very much interested The Queen is in the question, and has been since the end of June when the first rumours of the atrocities reached her, I read it at once and sent it in to Her Majesty without loss of time.

I ought not to say more, but I can't help remarking that The Queen has not ceased expressing her horror at what she heard (at first only in hints in the despatches) ever since the end of June.

Your views seem to my own mind to be excellent, and while encouraging the just indignation of all classes, gives a lead which I imagine will be followed. . . .

I am glad you noticed the Daily News correspondent. We certainly owe him much.

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*General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*WINDSOR CASTLE. *December 17. 1878.*

The Prince of Wales has forwarded to The Queen the letter you have written to His Royal Highness on the death of the Grand Duchess of Hesse.²

I am commanded by the Queen to thank you sincerely for the very kind expressions you have used in reference to Her Majesty's great sorrow and to assure you and Mrs. Gladstone that she is very grateful to you for your warm and hearty sympathy.

¹ *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.*² Princess Alice.

625 *General Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone*OSBORNE. *December 24. 1878.*

I received your letter on the day we came here and I at once gave it to The Queen as I knew she would be much interested in what you write about the speeches in the House of Commons.

Her Majesty has been very much touched by the Universal expression of sympathy which has been elicited by this calamity.¹

She is beginning again to occupy herself with business and will I hope recover her spirits gradually.

Wishing you and Mrs. Gladstone a very happy Christmas.

¹ Death of Princess Alice.

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